DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 068 257 RC 006 545

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TITLE A Review of Indian Education in North America.
INSTITUTION Ontario Teachers' Federation, Toronto.
PUB DATE 72
NOTE 149p.
AVAILABLE FROM Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1260 Bay Street, Toronto 185, Ontario ($2.00)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Achievement; Adult Education Programs; *American Indians; Community Schools; *Cultural Education; *Educational Development; Educational Policy; Educational Programs; Elementary School Role; *Government Role; Post Secondary Education; Secondary Education
IDENTIFIERS *Canada; United States

ABSTRACT

Formal and, where possible, informal educational programs designed specifically for American Indians in the U.S. and Canada between 1965-71 were studied. Information on Indian education in the U.S. was included to provide useful background material for a study of the Canadian situation. The dates were chosen arbitrarily to limit the scope of the research. The researchers were directed to gather data in the fields of elementary, secondary, postsecondary, and adult education in order to learn what programs were successful and who administered them. The study was to serve a dual purpose: (1) to provide information for teachers of Indian students, and (2) to find, if possible, a basic philosophy which leads to success or failure in Indian education. The major problem of Indian educators appeared to be their failure to recognize Indians as belonging to a unique culture, distinct from the mainstream of French and English culture in Canada. Educators have tried to fit Indian students into an alien type of educational program. Included among the list of 15 recommendations for programs, projects, and courses in Native studies are the following: (1) most important, that native cultural content should be included in the educational curriculum; (2) that there is a need for complete revision of all textbooks; (3) that Indian language courses should be instituted from kindergarten through to postsecondary levels; and (4) that social studies (history) courses should be set up to educate non-Indians about the background of the Indian. (FF)

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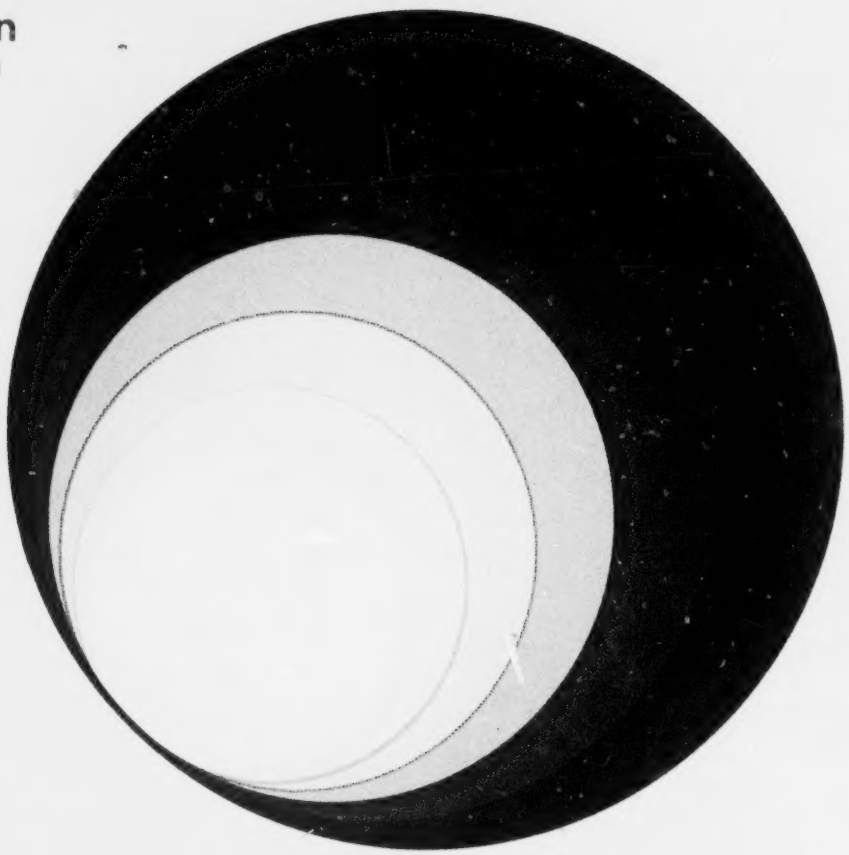
A REVIEW OF INDIAN EDUCATION IN NORTH AMERICA

by Hope MacLean
with Roberta Jamieson



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FEDERATION

Roberta Jamieson,
Ohsweken P.O.,
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c/o Six Nations
Reservation.

Miss N. Hodgins,
c/o Ontario Teachers' Federation
Suite 550,
1260 Bay St.,
Toronto 185, Ont.

SEP 22 1972

Dear Miss Hodgins:

I hereby wish to formally dissassociate myself and ny name from the Ontario Teachers' Federation publication designated as "A Review of Indian Education in North America" for the following reasons;

1. I feel that the most important, valuable, and informative portions of the original report have been unjustifiably omitted in the finished copy,(i.e. for example specific valuable descriptions of curricula, strategies, and techniques have been excluded).
2. There remains no specific, comprehendable explanation of the role of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, with regard to native education. Teachers, if they do not realize the structure of which they are a part, cannot function valuably within it.

Therefore for the above two reasons and several other complaints concerning the order and weight of credit granted, and the mechanics of the report, (i.e. the placing of quotation marks,tec.), I feel that the report submitted by the undersigned, and the report here presented are not one in the same.

I feel that in all fairness to myself and to the readers of the report, I cannot endorse its contents; thus, I have requested that my name be removed in all instances from aaid contents.

Yours Sincerely,

Roberta Jamieson

OTF ONTARIO TEACHERS' FEDERATION

ROOM 550, 1260 BAY STREET, TORONTO 5, ONTARIO, TELEPHONE 966-3424

September 1, 1972

Miss Roberta Jamieson
c/o Six Nations Indian Reservation
Ohsweken P. O.
Ohsweken, Ontario

Dear Miss Jamieson:

I have your letter with regard to the disassociation of your name from the report "A Review of Indian Education in North America". I am sorry that you still feel the way you do about this but, since you wish to have your name disassociated, we must now consider what we can do about it.

We wrote you, as you will recall, in April explaining the situation with regard to the report and asking for your comments on it. We received no comment from you at all and, therefore, concluded that the arrangement was satisfactory to you. We went ahead with the publication of the report, which had already been delayed much longer than we had originally hoped, and sent you a printed copy. It was only after you received this printed copy that you indicated that you wished to have your name disassociated from the report.

This means that we must either scrap the whole report, for we could not afford to have it reprinted; try to remove your name from the report, which would be extremely difficult; or include in the report a letter from you formally disassociating your name from the report and stating the reasons so that people reading the report will understand why you objected to it. I think you will agree that the last alternative is the most satisfactory since we would not wish to lose the value of the work done in the survey or discard the recommentations which you made at the conclusion of your section of the report.

Would you then please let me have a statement from you in which you formally disassociate your name from the report and state your reasons for so doing. Your position then will be quite clear to people reading the report and your recommendations will not be jeopardized by any misunderstanding that you have retracted these, which I understand from Mrs. Skinner you have not so done.

Yours sincerely,

Nora Hodgins

Nora Hodgins
Secretary-Treasurer

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The Indian Education Committee of the Ontario Teachers' Federation believes that the following report which was initiated by the Indian Education Committee will be of great value to teachers, education officials and all those involved in the education of our Native population. While the recommendations made in this report are not necessarily the policy of the Ontario Teachers' Federation, this Committee does approve of them.

Indian Education Committee Members

Mrs. Wilma Skinner, Chairman
Mr. R. W. Anderson
Mrs. E. J. Budge
Mrs. Marylou Radulovich

October 18, 1972
kp
#311/500/Misc.

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A REVIEW OF INDIAN EDUCATION IN NORTH AMERICA

Hope MacLean
with the assistance of Roberta Jamieson

Co-ordinated by
Howard Fluxgold, OTF Research Assistant

OTF

Ontario Teachers' Federation
Toronto

RC 006 545

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ISBN 0-88872-004-1

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PREFACE

A Review of Indian Education in North America was undertaken in response to a request from the Indian Education Committee of the Ontario Teachers' Federation. The Committee faced a serious problem in its efforts to formulate policy and programs in that there was a lack of readily available material on Indian education programs in both Canada and the United States. The Review was designed to gather data on programs for educating Indians in North America. It was hoped that the Committee would be able to use the information contained therein as a reference point for future action. With this in mind, the Committee passed the following resolution at its meeting on March 6, 1971:

> That the Committee ask OTF to undertake a research project on Indian Education. That the project be designed to gather data on all forms of Indian education in North America for the purpose of informing members of the Committee and other interested parties. It is hoped that the report might be used as the basis of future work by the Committee. The project will employ two students for the summer, at least one of whom will be Indian.

The resolution was subsequently approved by the Executive of the Ontario Teachers' Federation.

The project was designed to study formal and, where possible, informal educational programs designed specifically for Indians, between 1966 and 1971. These dates were chosen arbitrarily in order to limit the scope of the research. The researchers were directed to gather data in the fields of elementary, secondary and post-secondary education, as well as adult education, in an attempt to answer the following questions:

(a) Were programs successful or not?
(b) Why were they successful?
(c) Whose critera were used to determine whether the programs were successful?
(d) Who administered the program?
(e) Who taught the program?
(f) What was taught?
(g) Where was it taught?

(h) What was the relationship of the community with the school?
(i) What was the financial position of the school and community?

The researchers were not, however, limited by these questions. Their recommendations for successful programs of Indian Education were actively sought and appear at the end of each section.

It was decided to include a study of Indian Education in the United States because it was felt that, while the United States obviously has not found the solution to the problem, it has made serious attempts at constructing adequate programs. Its successes and failures should provide useful background material for a study of the Canadian situation. The first section of this report on the United States was researched and written by Hope MacLean, a recent graduate in Honour Social Anthropology from the University of Toronto. The primary research for the second section was undertaken by Roberta Jamieson of the Six Nations Indian Reservation. Miss Jamieson is a student at McGill University in Montreal. The remainder of the research and writing of the second section was a combined effort. The recommendations at the end of the section on Canada are those of Miss Jamieson.

When the program was begun, we hoped to find some common trend or idea which was incorporated into each program and which led directly to its success or failure. The two researchers, working separately, agreed that Indians ought to have a very large share in the decision-making process. Miss MacLean recommends that non-Indian "experts" be used in the establishment of programs but "these experts should have the specific aim of training the community so that it can carry on the program without them". Furthermore, she states that:

> The powers that have a "vested interest" in the Indians should be working for the destruction of their involvement with them.... The goal of Indian education should be to make the Indians independent and self-sufficient, not just to go on maintaining them at their present level....

Miss Jamieson says:

> The most important recommendation is for Native cultural content in the educational system .... There is a tremendous need for content which is meaningful to the Indian. The amount of Native content and what it is that is most relevant should be decided by the Indians themselves. ... It is imperative that, where possible, administrative, teaching, and resource positions in Native education should be held by people of

Native ancestry.

In addition, both researchers seem to indicate that they are opposed to the recommendation made by the Hawthorn Commission that Indians be totally integrated in the established school system. Miss MacLean says:

> (Segregation of Indian schools)... is a debatable point... the Indian child is bound to suffer emotionally unless he is placed in an unusually sympathetic and hospitable school... if many of the programming suggestions in this report are to be put into effect, either segregated classrooms in an integrated school or segregated schools are required.

Miss Jamieson seems to be tending in the direction of segregation when she states:

> Native children should not be bussed off the reserve until the secondary level.

Both researchers stress the need for Indian cultural content in the educational system. Indian culture, history, and language ought to be an integral part of the curriculum. Both also agree that greater parental and community involvement is necessary.

The following is not a compilation of all Indian education programs in Canada and the United States. Selection was subjective and representative and, in the case of Canada, was hindered to a great extent by a lack of documentation.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the Ontario Teachers' Federation and its Indian Education Committee for its assistance in this project. I would also like to thank Mrs. Sheilagh Dubois who has painstakingly edited the manuscript and prepared it for publication. Thanks also to Mrs. Renate Meyer and Mrs. Mary Aston who patiently typed and re-typed the manuscript.

Howard Fluxgold, April 5, 1972.

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Section A

INDIAN EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The trouble is, these (Apache) people don't want education. They think it's poison. They hold ceremonies every year to do away with all the evils their kids picked up in school. (reservation school principal)

(Parmee, 1968: 105)

The successful Indians are off the reservation. The failures come back, but they're happy here on the reservation because they lead a lazy undisciplined life. (I don't see how they can be happy living the way they do.) (public school teacher)

(McKinley et al., 1970: 17)

It is our responsibility to bring these children back to normal - to civilize them. (teacher)

(McKinley et al., 1970: 21)

Mississippi and Utah - the Potomac and Chattahoochee - Appalachia and Shenandoah ... The words of the Indian have become our words ... His myths and his heroes enrich our language ... For two centuries, the American Indian has been a symbol of the drama and excitement of the earliest America. But for two centuries he has been an alien in his own land.

(Lyndon B. Johnson, 1968: 1)

Work with and for the Indians must give consideration to the desires of the individual Indians. He who wishes to merge into the social and economic life of the prevailing civilization of this country should be given all practicable aid in making the necessary adjustments. He who wishes to remain an Indian and live according to his old culture should be aided in doing so.

(Meriam, 1928: 86-88)

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this project has been to collect data on educational programs for American Indians which have been undertaken since 1965. This work has a dual purpose: to provide information for teachers of Indian students, and to find, if possible, a basic philosophy which leads to success or failure in Indian education.

In this paper I have described 24 programs which I feel are representative of the advances being made in Indian education today. These descriptions are not limited to purely intra-classroom programs. A number deal with other difficulties in the educational process. I have tried to set these descriptions in an overall pattern by describing the basic problems in Indian education and the ways in which these programs are designed to solve them. This method, I feel, illustrates the advances made in educational philosophy, rather than being merely a description of teaching methods.

The limitations of this study should be made clear. I am a white Anthropology graduate and, as such, have only limited insight into Indian opinion. In addition, the gathering of material has been limited to a search of the literature, with correspondence supplying additional information in a few cases. Therefore, the report reflects the biases and opinions of the authors used. However, most authors had first-hand knowledge of the programs about which they wrote. Many were sympathetic Anglos with a long history of involvement with Indians, and some were Indians themselves. I feel that to some extent their descriptions may be idealized. Deficiencies are not fully pointed out. A close reading of statistics of participation or of academic progress sometimes reveals that the programs had only limited effect. However, it is important to remember that most of these programs are only experimental, and many have only been in operation for a few years. More important is the willingness to experiment, and the freedom from traditional educational methods as the latter have not had notable success with the Indians.

(Technical note: In this report I have used certain terms interchangeably. "Anglo", "white", "dominant culture", and "national society" all refer to the mainstream of United States culture. "Native" usually refers to the Eskimo, Aleut, and Indian population of Alaska; "Indian" to all others.)

Hope MacLean, April 5, 1972.

I A BRIEF SURVEY OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

1. History of Indian Education in the United States

The history of formal European-style education for Indians begins almost with the first coming of the white man. The goal of the early missionaries was to Christianize the "savage heathen", mostly through education. Dartmouth University was founded to educate the "youth of Indian tribes ...and also of English youth and others". Harvard University and William and Mary College were founded for a similar purpose.[1] In the nineteenth century, both the Cherokee and the Choctaw nations operated successful school systems, with a higher rate of literacy than the surrounding whites.[2]

Education was included in the treaties made with the Indians as a service to be provided by the federal government; however, the government was unwilling to operate a school system. At first funds were given to religious orders to run mission schools; however, public protest against federal aid to sectarian religion forced the government to discontinue this policy.[3]

The government then began to build a number of boarding schools, and Indian children were often forcibly removed from their parents' influence in an attempt to "Americanize" them. Nevertheless, the success of this policy was limited by the inadequacy of the facilities which failed to reach even a large percentage of the eligible population.

The general pattern of corruption and cultural intolerance of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) culminated in a public outcry which resulted in the Meriam Report of 1928.[4] Commissioned by the Department of the Interior, the Meriam Report surveyed Indian schools and communities throughout the United States. It marked a turning point in Indian education. The BIA boarding schools were heavily criticized. Among the problems listed were inadequately qualified personnel, partly as a function of the low wages paid and poor working conditions; hopelessly inadequate and overcrowded facilities; poor health conditions (many children suffered from malnutrition and communicable diseases while in school!); and overregimentation in curriculum and dormitories which took the place of creative teaching and an attempt to reach the children as human beings.[5]

The Meriam Report focussed on education as the solution to the "Indian problem" and the most important function of the BIA. It recommended an educational philosophy which would prepare the Indian "to control and direct his own life", whether he chose to remain on the

reservation or enter the "prevailing civilization".[6] Among its recommendations it listed transferring Indian students from boarding schools to day schools, preferably public, as quickly as possible so that they could live a more humane and normal life with their families; and a massive infusion of funds from Congress to allow the BIA to upgrade its programs and facilities and attract better personnel. It also called for adequate vocational training, related to the work available, and "the recognition and implementation of community participation and adult education".[7]

The Meriam Report was a highly sophisticated document. It delineated almost all the major problems still current in Indian education: boarding schools versus day schools; personnel and facilities; relevant vocational training; adult education and community involvement. It proposed solutions which are only now being put into effect. Its relevance today is perhaps its most shocking characteristic.

The period until the second world war was a time of enlightened administration in the BIA. Under the Rhoads-Scattergood administration, a number of the recommendations of the Meriam Report were put into effect. With increased appropriations from Congress, personnel standards were raised and higher wages offered. Some of the worst conditions in the schools were alleviated. Enrolment of children in the public schools rose rapidly from 38,000 in 1929-30 to 48,000 in 1931-32. An attempt was made to phase out the elementary grades in the boarding schools, leaving only the upper grades and specialized education, such as vocational training.[8]

In 1933, John Collier became the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. In many ways he was ahead of his time. He had a marked admiration for Indian culture and a concern for their "civil rights": the right to freedom, economic opportunity, and self-government. The focus of Collier's educational policy was to make the education of the Indian relevant to Indian life; to teach the Indian pride in his heritage; and to utilize the schools as centres for adult education and community participation.[9]

Collier emphasized vocational and agricultural training as most relevant to Indian life. He felt Indians were most likely to remain on the reservation and would need to find jobs. This step was criticized by many, however, as being equivalent to segregation. To bring Indian culture into the school, steps were taken towards developing Indian-oriented curricula and native-language textbooks.[10] An attempt to pass legislation which would gain official recognition of the value of Indian culture and the Indian right to be taught about their heritage in the schools was unfortunately defeated. Public attitudes towards the Indians can be seen in the fact that the legislation was defeated on the basis that this equalled indoctrinating children in "heathen religion".[11] The trend towards decentralized day schools was encouraged to promote the use of schools as community facilities and centres of adult education. The Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 was significant in bringing this about. The states could not collect money from the tax-exempt reservations. The Johnson-O'Malley

Act allowed the federal government to contract with the states for services to the Indians such as education, rather than giving funds at the local level. It was a first step in shrugging off the paternalistic role of the BIA.[12]

The success of Collier's policies would have been a major step forward in bringing a recognition of the needs and desires of the Indian into Indian education. Their success depended finally on how they were carried out in the field, however, and there are indications that at this level they were often obstructed. In addition, Collier was not popular with Congress, and the hostility between them resulted in rapidly decreasing appropriations. In 1944, he resigned his position.[13]

The second world war had both advantages and disadvantages for Indian education. Cutbacks in federal spending halted many programs. School enrolment dropped as many Indians left to join the armed forces or work in war industries.[14] On the other hand, many Indians returned from the war with a new enthusiasm for education. For the first time they had lived off the reservation and seen the benefits that education could give them. The second world war marked the beginning of an acceptance of education by the Indians.[15]

The years after the war were a time of shifting policies and marking time for the BIA. Congress was pressuring the BIA to terminate its services to the Indians.[16] The emphasis in education had returned to assimilation. Enrolment of Indian children in public schools was stepped up.[17] Congress failed to realize that in many ways the BIA could offer better services to the Indians than the public schools could. For instance, BIA teachers were trained in teaching English as a second language and in teaching across cultures while public school teachers were not. The BIA could also offer more comprehensive health and social services.[18] At the same time, the emphasis was shifted from vocational to college preparatory education on the assumption that the time was coming when a high school education would not be sufficient. This was unrealistic in view of the number who dropped out before even completing high school and were left with neither academic nor job skills.[19]

The only major accomplishment in Indian education of the time was the establishment of a special emergency program for the Navaho. As Wopat points out,

> The Navaho are the largest group of Indians outside Oklahoma, and in many ways the most "primitive". Because of these factors, programs that worked on other reservations didn't work with the Navaho... in some aspects the Bureau sinks or swims with the Navaho program.[20]

In 1946 there were 10,000 Navaho between 12 and 17 who had never had any schooling, and an estimated 18,000 between 6 and 18. The Bureau developed a crash program, condensing 8 to 12 years of schooling

into five, for the 12 to 17 year-old group. It assumed that if this group was not reached soon, it would be too late; and five years would be the longest schools could hope to hold them. A number of schools were devoted to the Navaho, with the aim of teaching them the necessary social, linguistic, and vocational skills to make their way in the non-Navaho world. By 1959, 50, 249 had been enrolled and 3, 362 had graduated, with 1, 837 dropping out.[21] Today, the Navaho, initially the greatest problem group in the United States, have become leading innovators in Indian education.

Towards the end of the 1950's Congress began to realize that termination was not the answer to the Indian problem; instead, it created problems and fears for both Indians and whites.[22] Yet the legacy of the termination policy remains. Indians are afraid to initiate policies and programs which they feel may alienate the government and lead to termination of federal services. They are aware that they cannot yet survive without federal funds, and until recently were wary and hostile to any innovations which they felt might lead to this.[23]

The failure of the BIA has not been so much in achieving its goals as in the goals themselves. The Meriam Report stressed that changes imposed from above were useless. The failure of the BIA to consult the Indians led to the development of policies which were meaningless to the Indians and passively and actively resisted by them. The history of Indian education seems to show that unless Indians themselves have a hand in policy-making, education will not succeed in making them independent and self-sufficient.

In the final analysis, however, responsibility for the failure of Indian education rests with Congress. Financially and in other ways Congress has changed and limited the educational objectives of the BIA. Often these policies for which the BIA was most criticized were imposed on it by Congress. This realization has led to an understanding that the structure of Indian administration must be changed if it is to serve the Indians effectively.[24]

A great deal of controversy has recently surrounded the role of the BIA in Indian education. The BIA is caught in a dilemma. While it has been obliged to maintain a school system of its own, its policy has been, where possible, to transfer control of Indian education to the public schools. On one hand it is accused of paternalism, on the other of forcing assimilation. This ambivalent situation has not been conducive to adequate Congressional funding, support or planning. Since termination has been rejected by both Indians and whites, the federal government is obliged to find some system which will continue federal support while resolving this dilemma.[25]

Organizational location seems to be crucial, and several alternatives have been proposed. At present, the BIA is a relatively low-level bureau within the Department of the Interior. Critics have urged that for it to have any effectiveness it must be elevated to higher status. Alvin Josephy, in a report to President Kennedy, recommended that it be

transferred to the executive office of the President where it would be more visible and have a mandate for change. Others have suggested that it be transferred intact to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, while others have suggested that only its educational functions be transferred to the Office of Education in this department. More fundamental change would result in the creation of a federal commission to control Indian education with a specific mandate to transfer control to Indian communities within five years. This would not be termination, but continuation of federal responsibility under Indian control.[26] This proposal responds best to the increased militancy of the Indians themselves. At present, it is too early to see what will happen; however, many of these ideas are already under way, in practice if not in theory. Indian control and the transfer of educational functions to other agencies such as the Office of Economic Opportunities are becoming realities as can be seen in many of the programs in this report.

2. Recent Developments

The character of Indian education has changed radically in the past seven years. To me, two developments seem most important. First, the increasing visibility of poverty and the realization that massive appropriations to fund more comprehensive services are necessary to overcome it. Secondly, the recognition of the validity of Indian culture, and the right of the Indians to control their own education. Since my aim in this section is only to set the background for the programs described in this report, I will only describe these very superficially.

The United States' War on Poverty brought to public attention the plight of the Indian; the realization that, despite the efforts of the BIA, the American Indian was living in shocking conditions.

- The unemployment rate among Indians is nearly 40% - compared to a national average of 3.5%.
- Of those who do work, a third are under-employed in temporary or seasonal work.
- Fifty per cent of Indian families have cash incomes below $2,000; 75% below $3,000.
- The average age of death is 44 compared to a national average of 65.
- The infant mortality rate is 34.5 per 1,000, 12 points above the national average.
- Ten per cent of all Indians have no schooling at all; 60% have less than an eighth-grade education.[27]

The War on Poverty brought into being much legislation from which the Indians benefitted. Two Acts are significant from the standpoint of education. The Economic Opportunity Act, passed in 1964, established

the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Its task was to isolate poverty-striken areas and develop and fund programs which would involve and educate the entire community in solving its problems. Although its role was not limited to education, many of the programs described in this report have come under the auspices of the OEO.[28] The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) provided extra educational and personal services to schools serving children from low-income families. Among other things, it funded the salaries of 90,000 teacher aides, expanded school hours throughout the evenings, weekends, and summer, and enrolled 475,000 children in preschool programs.[29]

The usefulness of these funds and programs depended on how they were carried out in the field, and unless they were used for the purposes for which they were designed, their aims were frustrated. It has recently been discovered that Johnson-O'Malley funds which were designated to provide special services to Indian children in the public schools have been misappropriated by the schools as part of their general operating funds.[30] Similar discoveries have been made for funds from ESEA Title I which were designed to provide special programs for disadvantaged children.[31] The problems of the Office of Economic Opportunity are described in several places in this report, notably under Head Start. The failure of the War on Poverty to reach the Indians led to the conclusion that unless the Indians have some form of direct control over how funds are spent, these programs are likely to have little long-term effect in changing their conditions.

In 1968, President Lyndon Johnson delivered a message in which he called for heavily increased appropriations to all legislation affecting the Indians. More significantly, he voiced a policy of self-help, self-determination, and self-government for the Indians, a policy which rejected the paternalistic role of the government and gave increased power to the Indian communities.[32] President Nixon, in 1970, reiterated this support, definitely rejecting a policy of termination. He promised a continuation of federal support and called upon the Indians to provide leadership in determining the use of federal funds and developing programs best suited to the needs of the Indians themselves. As a first step, he proposed an amendment to the Johnson-O'Malley Act which would provide for funds to be turned directly over to the tribes involved.[33]

These two speeches are landmarks in Indian education. For the first time, the right of the Indians to control their own education has been officially recognized. Whether these sentiments will be put into practice is another matter. There are indications in the literature that changes are coming about, but they are coming slowly.

3. Statistics on Indian Education

In 1968 there were over 600,000 Indians in the United States. Of these, 400,000 lived on or near a reservation.[34] More than 200,000 Indians are

of school age. Over half of these speak only a native language, which poses special problems in education.[35] It is estimated that 94% of Indian children are now in school, an increase of 4% since 1961.[36]

In 1970 there were 185,587 Indian students 5 to 18 enrolled in the schools. Of these, 61.7% attended public schools; 25.8% attended federal schools; and 5.8% attended mission schools and others. The BIA operated 215 schools with an enrolment of 52,195, 19 dormitories for 4,043 children in public schools, and undertook partial financial responsibility for two thirds of all children in public schools. It also operated 59 kindergartens serving 1,681 children which was 3.2% of the total enrolment. 1,939 students graduated from BIA high schools. This seemingly low number is partially a function of the fact that many students are transferred to public schools in the sixth grade when they have achieved some facility in English.[37]

Unfortunately, comparable statistics were not available for the public schools or others.

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II THE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT OF THE INDIAN

The importance of education to the future of the Indians is a recurring theme in the literature. Education is seen by Indians and whites as essential for providing leadership on the reservations and breaking the vicious circle of poverty. The achievement of Indian children in school is, therefore, an important problem.

1. The Drop-out Problem

Failure to complete high school is one of the problems most frequently mentioned in connection with Indian academic achievement. Yet, despite its significance to the future of the Indians, there has been little reliable data until recently. In a study done in 1959, Coombs estimated that 60% of all Indian students dropped out before high school graduation. Until lately this was the only reliable figure available, and it is still widely quoted. [1]

Recently, two major studies have been conducted which tend to disprove this figure. Owens and Bass in the Southwest and Selinger in the Northwest conducted two longitudinal studies of the careers of 2,057 students. These two studies, combined, cover the major concentrations of Indians in the United States. In the period from 1962 to 1968, the investigators found that overall 57.2% of Indian students graduated from high school, while .5% were deceased and 42.3% had dropped out. The drop-out rate was lower in the Southwest, 38.7%, and higher in the Northwest, 47.7%. One factor in this may be the stress on education among the Navaho, the largest population of Indians in the Southwest. Coombs points out that Navaho students are now finishing high school at a rate of 70%. [2] In comparing these statistics with the national averages, these figures become even more promising. From 1959-68, the national drop-out rate declined 11% from 37% to 26%. In the same period, the Indian drop-out rate declined more than 18% from the 1959 BIA figure. [3] From this it can be seen that the situation is improving. Hopefully, the Indian will soon be competing successfully with the national population.

2. Reasons for Academic Difficulties

The reasons for the academic difficulties that Indians encounter in school are complex, and the literature is marked by controversy. Genetically inferior intellectual ability as a factor in Indian academic achievement is a myth that has long since been discarded, with the qualification that

malnutrition and other environmental factors associated with poverty do tend to retard intellectual capacity.[4] Other factors must be isolated which contribute to the poorer record of Indian children in school.

In 1965, the Coleman Report, a study carried out by the U.S. Office of Education, compared the educational achievement of majority children and the children of all minority groups. It found that minority children fell farther and farther behind, the longer they remained in school. (It should be pointed out, however, that Indian children showed the smallest drop from national means and achieved the highest levels of any minority group.)

> The average white student's achievement seems to be less affected by the strengths and weaknesses of his school's facilities, curriculum and teachers than is the average minority pupil's. To put it another way, the achievement of minority pupils depends more on the schools they attend than does the achievement of majority pupils.[5]

However, others pointed out that the pupil's background drastically affected his performance in school. To this the Coleman Report answered that the schools for disadvantaged children needed, therefore, to be better than ordinary schools if they were to overcome the inherent educational disadvantage of the children.

> Whatever may be the non-school factors - poverty, community attitudes, low educational level of the parents - which put minority children at a disadvantage in verbal and nonverbal skills when they enter the first grade, the fact is the schools have not overcome it.[6]

Two factors seem paramount in accounting for the difficulties which Indian children have in school and which result in their dropping out. These are cultural alienation, which leads to a progressive psychological withdrawal from all that school implies, together with "progressive retardation" (which may be a factor in creating alienation).

"Progressive retardation" or "cumulative learning deficit" is cited in a number of the programs described in this report. It refers to the gradual "falling behind" of Indian children in the schools as their comprehension fails to keep pace with the increasing complexity of knowledge demanded of them. Linguistic problems are often the basis of this. Since the drop-out rates are highest in the eighth grade,[7] just after Indian children are often transferred to public schools and made aware of their deficiencies in competing with Anglo children and the point at which they can often no longer cope, there seems to be substantial proof for the importance of this factor in dropping out.[8]

The other factor often cited is alienation from the school. Most schools operate under a white middle-class value system, and these values are often contrary to traditional Indian values. Zintz lists a number of these, and it is obvious how they could interfere in classroom activities.

(1) Harmony with nature juxtaposed with mastery over nature.
(2) Present time orientation versus future time orientation.
(3) A level of aspiration to follow in the way of the old people; to co-operate and maintain the status quo rather than develop a keen sense of competition and climb the ladder of success.
(4) To value anonymity and submissiveness rather than individuality and aggressiveness.
(5) To work to satisfy present needs and be willing to share, rather than always working to "get ahead" and save for the future. [9]

So too the style of learning of the Indian child differs from that imposed on him by the Anglo school. McKinley et al. point out,

> Our own field data indicate that Indian children prefer the style of learning characteristic of their culture. Generally, the learner initiates an extended period of observation and attempts performance only when he feels fairly certain of his ability. Premature bungling attempts are met with teasing, and successful attempts with quiet acceptance. The characteristics of learning in the American classroom (i.e. initiation by the teacher, premature public practice, public praise and public correction) are all antithetical to this aboriginal style... modern American Indian children prefer self-directed and self-initiated projects, ungraded curricula, and learning activities which can be completed with minimal interaction between student and teacher, except when the interaction involves friendly help on an individual basis. [10]

This is only a partial list. There are many other value conflicts, some of which are described in the programs in this report. Until recently, many schools failed to recognize these differences and adjust teaching and curriculum to them. However, until this is done many Indian children will withdraw and refuse to participate, rather than behave in a way contrary to their beliefs.

Harkins, in a study of Chippewa Indian children, noticed this withdrawal. He found that rural Indian children showed little or no hostility towards school compared to their white and Indian bordertown peers. This he explained by the complete failure of the school to involve the children on any more than a minimal formalized level. Their very insularity in the classroom resulted in a complete lack of criticism of what was wrong with the school. [11]

Wax however sees the alienation problem on a different level. In

a study of Sioux Indian students, she found that many, especially the boys, actually liked school as a place to meet their friends, participate in sports, and so on. Nevertheless, the rejection by the school of many of their traditional behaviour patterns such as independence, aggressiveness, curiosity, and loyalty resulted in the students becoming not so much drop-outs as "push-outs". She suggests that rather than being too difficult, school may actually be too stultifying and childish. [14]

Bryde too attributes a high drop-out rate to value conflict. In a two-year study of Oglala Sioux students, he found that they achieved above national norms until about the seventh grade, then suddenly fell behind. This he called the "cross-over phenomenon". He suggested that psychological turmoil at adolescence compounded with cultural value conflict in school to produce a significant degree of alienation which retarded school achievement. Bryde suggested a course in "Acculturational Psychology" which would teach students how to adapt traditional Indian values to the demands of modern civilization as a solution. [13]

3. Segration versus Integration

Segregation versus integration is also a question that arises in discussing the achievement of Indian children. The BIA has rationalized its retention of segregated schools for Indian children on the theory that in this way it can provide an education better adapted to Indian needs. In the public schools, Indian children may be in a minority and unable to compete with Anglo children on the cultural terms that the school assumes. [14] On the other hand, there are indications that Indian parents prefer their children to attend integrated schools. They feel that in this way their children can learn to compete with whites, which they will have to do when they grow up, and acquire the English which they will later need for jobs. [15]

In a study of academic achievement, Dankworth reflects the advantages and disadvantages of the two systems. He found that greater interaction with the dominant culture tended to retard academic achievement. This, he hypothesized, was a result of trauma when the Indian student, having rejected his traditional culture, failed to find acceptance in the new. So he lost interest in achieving. On the other hand, he found that residing in an urban environment facilitated achievement, as did residing in a multi-ethnic community, while residing on a rural reservation tended to hinder achievement. [16] The reason for this may perhaps be found in a BIA study which pointed out,

> that as the cultural and educational backgrounds of Indian children become more like those of white children in the public schools, the more closely will the educational achievement of Indian children match that of white children. [17]

Davis, on the contrary, struck a blow for segregated schools. In

a study of the Northwest, he found that although 1,485 students were in public school and only 105 in boarding, the boarding schools turned out more high school diplomas annually than did the public schools. This occurred even though the criteria for assignment to the boarding schools were poor home conditions, truancy, inability to adjust to school, and other situations detrimental to school achievement.[18]

The controversy over segregated versus integrated schools continues. However, with the recent emphasis on Indian identity and the development of schools like Rough Rock which offer Indian children the advantages of a white education without the emotional and academic disadvantages of an integrated school, there seems to be an ideological trend towards segregated schools. The success of these schools will indicate whether the academic achievement of Indian children is facilitated by segregation or not.

4. Continuing Education

The academic achievement of the Indian is also reflected in the numbers who continue their education. Bass and Selinger, who did the drop-out studies described above, became interested in the post-secondary careers of Indian students.

In 1968, Bass studied 384 graduates in the Southwest six years after high school completion. He found that 74% entered academic or vocational programs after high school. Of these, 7% completed college while 44% completed technical-vocational training. Two thirds of the females were employed and three quarters of the males. Females were usually employed in clerical services and were happy with their job. Males were employed in skilled and unskilled jobs and were dissatisfied. Inadequate finances, military service, marriage, and pregnancy were cited as the main reasons for failing to complete post-secondary education.[19]

Selinger interviewed 287 graduates in the Northwest. Of these, he found that about 70% continued their education and about 50% completed it. Slightly less than one half of the females were employed, and slightly more than one half of the males: the majority in low-skill low-paying jobs. Females discontinued their education because of lack of interest, followed by marriage; males because of lack of financial support and lack of interest. In considering these figures, it should be noted that the number of continuers is not startlingly high, when the drop-out rate before graduation is counted.[20]

College graduation is rapidly becoming a prerequisite for any type of skilled interesting work. In this, the record of the Indian is improving. According to the Havighurst Report, the number of Indian students attending college has increased five-fold from 1960 to 1970. There are now approximately 8,000 Indian students in college, about 12% of the college-age group. Havighurst points out that these are relatively high proportions, compared to other low-income social groups. The major reason for this is the availability of scholarship monies, both from the BIA and the tribes, and the determined recruiting efforts of a number of agencies.[21]

Although these statistics are promising, the fact remains that in many areas of the United States, Indians are not achieving at their fullest level of potential. Hopefully, the programs described in the next pages show how this situation can be remedie

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III ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PROGRAMS

1. The Ahfachkee Day School

Primary school programs are crucial in Indian education if the academic achievement of the Indian is to match national levels. Research is beginning to show that learning deficits are cumulative. Knowledge must be fitted into a framework of knowledge previously acquired. [1] An incomplete understanding of the concepts taught in the first few years of schooling makes it difficult for children to master the more complex concepts required of them in later years. For bilingual or non-English-speaking children, this problem is complicated by the fact that many acquire only a minimal English vocabulary, which is insufficient to absorb information past the first few years of school. This problem is often hidden from the teacher, for the child has acquired enough English to communicate his needs. [2] Educational programs for Indian children must incorporate a corrective to this problem into their design, and this is best done in the primary grades, before the child drops out.

A program to overcome the cumulative learning deficit was conducted among the Florida Seminoles at the Ahfachkee Day School. The Big Cypress Seminole Reservation is one of the most isolated and poorest reservations in the United States. In fifty years, only 150 Seminoles have graduated from high school and only one from college. The drop-out rate before high school completion is 67%. Since 1940, the BIA has operated an elementary school on the reservation, with little success beyond meeting the basic physical and social needs of the children. In grade five, the children are transferred to a public school 45 miles away. The result is erratic attendance and, since they are badly prepared to compete academically, many drop out. [3]

In 1968, the BIA contracted with a team from Florida State University to remedy this situation. A battery of psychological, achievement, and perception tests, plus a survey of parental attitudes, showed that the children had an average range of ability, although they were operating on a low level of achievement. The problem was compounded by the resistance of their parents to formal education. The critical point in their education came when they were transferred to the public school and suddenly made aware of their learning deficits. Consequently, the university team decided to concentrate on a compensatory program to slow the trend of scholastic regression in those children who were soon to be transferred to the public school. In 1969-70, this included 14 children in grades three and four.

A three-phase program was developed. The first phase involved in-service training for the school staff. Bi-monthly sessions, taught by university faculty, were held to train the teachers and bilingual teacher aides in team teaching. Secondly, to overcome the parents' resistance to education, they were encouraged to attend teacher-training sessions as resource people and to learn skills in child development. [5]

The third phase of the program was designed to improve the language skills of the children. This consisted of using peer-produced reading materials, and a teaching technique which used kinetic and tactile stimuli to reinforce the visual and auditory channels of learning. (VAKT) The children were motivated to create their own reading materials, using their own words and experiences. These were illustrated by the children, bound, and placed in a library. Eight university students were trained in VAKT techniques and flown in to the reservation to tutor students twice a week. Each worked with two to three students for 30-60 minute sessions, using the childrens' books.

Ultimately, all the children were to be involved on a one-to-one basis using peer-group tutors. More advanced students would tutor their peers, the rationale being that this would tend to reduce embarrassment, increase self-confidence in both, and allow more individual time per student. In January, however, it was found that only two children read well enough to act as peer-tutors; therefore, for the rest of the year, the university students were flown in. The project directors felt it was more important to improve reading skills than to begin a program the children were not prepared to handle. In 1970-71, it was hoped that the 1969-70 grade three children would become peer-tutors, while the fourth grade of 1969-70 was better prepared for public school.

Although the project did not succeed in reversing the learning deficit of the children, it was shown in tests using each student as his own control that a severe regressive trend had been replaced by a mild one. It was hoped that future work would continue this improvement. [6]

2. A Summer Remedial Reading Program

This next description of a remedial reading program, conducted by Hill, points up the possible deficiencies of compensatory education. Summer remedial reading programs are considered an important method of compensating for an "inevitable loss" in reading ability over the summer. They are very popular and very expensive, but little research has been done to determine their effectiveness. Since most programs fail to include a control group or a longitudinal follow-up, their evaluation is of limited value. Although success has been indicated for massive long-term programs, most are not conducted on this scale. For short-term programs, studies have found that, although progress accelerates rapidly during the program, it returns to its previous level when the program ends. From this Hill concludes that neither a short-term compensatory program, funded for only a

few years, nor a few hours a week of specialized instruction isolated from regular classroom activities is likely to have any permanent effect. What is needed is a massive long-term commitment closely related to ongoing classroom activities. Hill conducted a relatively unsuccessful program of the former type which led him to these conclusions.

The necessity for a long-term commitment has been stressed by a number of the programs described in this paper. The fact that specialized education is a part of classroom activities may be partially responsible for the success of the Fort Thomas Diverse Capacity Project and of the Oral English program at Rough Rock. Nevertheless, a description of Hill's program is included here as a cautionary note against deficient programming.

Hill carried out a six-week summer remedial reading program with funds from the BIA on the Nez Percé Reservation. Thirty-six rural Indian students in grades four to eight were referred by their schools for being an estimated one grade or more below their grade level in reading ability. Of these, 19 attended.

At the beginning, students were given a battery of tests to compare with post-test evaluation. Remedial sessions were held for three hours daily, five days a week. Two Indian teachers were hired, trained in the use of materials, and consulted in program planning and test evaluation. Although Hill made tentative individualized programs using test data, to allow self-regulation and self-pacing, the students so lacked experience of self-sustained effort, self-evaluation, and decision-making that he was obliged to revert to rigidly scheduled activities. In general, he used programmed material which centred on reading, with additional practice in arithmetic and English. He found, however, that the success of the material depended on group acceptance or rejection. Therefore, he suggested study carrels or some other form of isolation as a necessary feature of the program.

Average daily attendance was 13.6; nine students attended 75% or more of the sessions. In general, attendance was high in the first four weeks and then fell in the last two. In part, this was attributed to the fact that classes were held in the community centre where the presence of friends and entertainment distracted potential students.

In evaluating the program, the control group was formed by those students who had been referred by their schools and who had not attended. The experimental group were those who attended 60% or more of the sessions In post-tests, the experimental group showed improvement in vocabulary and reading ability, but none in comprehension. In light of these discouraging results, Hill suggested that, although such a program may be useful, it is unlikely to have any significant or permanent effects. [7]

3. Project Head Start

Project Head Start is a program sponsored by the Office of Economic

Opportunity (OEO) for disadvantaged preschool children. It is designed to give children a "head start" in overcoming poverty, whether of health, nutrition, human relationships or learning opportunity. The underlying assumption is that the child's early years are crucial in his formation.[8] Therefore, Head Start aims to draw together all the resources of the community and the child's total environment to contribute to his development. For this reason, it employs people from many fields, from teachers, doctors, and social workers to nutrition and health experts and parents.[9] The following is an idealized description of Head Start taken from OEO manuals.

The Head Start program centres on the classroom and outdoor play areas. The space is arranged to allow children to work in small groups or individually, with teachers and students moving freely about the classroom. The child learns through the manipulation of objects ranging from simple observation to complicated play; therefore, the equipment chosen is vital to the program. Ideally, it should include a wide variety of textures, shapes, sounds, and movements for a child whose home environment may be lacking in stimulation. These should encourage expression through play, music, and art and develop the child's curiosity, co-ordination, and balance. Lists of equipment range from play-money and dress-up clothes to building blocks, story books, and aquariums.[10]

Parental involvement is important in Head Start. Parents are a valuable source of information about their children, and Head Start may be as meaningful to them through offering constructive experiences as to their children. Parent meetings, work-study groups, and home visitation is one method of involving them. More effective is employing them in the program itself, as bus drivers, teacher aides, baby-sitters, and meal and playground attendants. Parents may also have valuable skills which can be integrated into classroom activities, such as playing musical instruments or telling folk-tales.[11]

The success of Head Start in Indian communities does not appear unqualified. Wax and Wax surveyed Head Start programs in a number of Indian communities and took a rather jaundiced view of their possibilities for change. Two characteristics are fundamental to Head Start programs. First, they must involve the children in a relatively free-form environment which is stimulating to the child and basically different from the traditional textbook and discipline-oriented school. Secondly, they must involve the community and parents of the children. The core of Wax and Wax's criticism lies in the application of the second objective.

Head Start and other OEO programs are promised on condition of the support of the entire community. Without this they are bound to fail in implementing any long-term change. Though scholastically they may be excellent for those children they reach, their effect will not be lasting if there is no continuity and extension of their principles within the community itself. Community development programs have the potential to be a significant educational experience for the tribe itself, but only if the tribe is allowed to participate in developing and implementing them in such a way

that their aims and objectives are internalized by the people. Without this, OEO programs, however well-intentioned, remain only a paternalistic program superimposed on the Indians from above.

It is exactly this which Head Start failed to do. Its effect was diminished in so far as the program was designed beforehand and presented in community meetings to the few people who attended. The organizers often accepted a controlling clique as representative of the tribe, without considering that many parents had either not been informed of the meetings or refused to attend in a traditional Indian gesture of disapproval of the clique that was operating the program. Significant too for Head Start programs was the failure to consult with or involve the women of the tribe. Since Indian society holds to the traditional division of labour by sex, it is the women who know the most about their children's needs and desires and who can most effectively provide guidance and criticism to the personnel of the program; yet, it was the women who were first to be left out in planning and operating Head Start.

Wax and Wax suggest that to involve the community several methods may be used. First, the developers of a program should poll the community extensively, from door to door if necessary, to discover the needs and opinions of the people. In this way, a second problem encountered by Head Start may also be overcome. Poor communications between the tribal council and the parents often left the parents unaware of the nature and intent of Head Start. As a result, many parents elected not to send their children because they associated it with BIA and other traditional school programs. This error was reinforced by the fact that Head Start classes were often held in BIA or public schools.

A second way in which the community might be involved is through extensive employment and use of resource people from the tribe. Given the current shortage of qualified teachers and the employment situation on the reservations, this would have the double benefit of easing the burdens of the teaching personnel and giving Indian parents worthwhile employment, while seeing Indians employed in responsible positions would provide a model of success for the children. Although Indian aides were employed to some extent, they were seldom given any responsibility. Too often they were used for menial and disciplinary tasks, such as supervising meals and handwashing, rather than being actually involved in the classroom. [12]

Ortiz, in a study of a Head Start program in San Juan, New Mexico, cautions against a third problem: an atypical involvement of the Indian community. By Head Start criteria - poor economic conditions, adverse home conditions, and a lack of English fluency in the home - 52 out of 71 Indian children were eligible. Yet the program was funded for only 45 children, and these were drawn from five communities: one Indian, the others Spanish-American. In the final selection, seven Indian children were enrolled, but none of these were those most in need of it. None were from a traditional monolingual family, and only one was more than half-Indian. He suggests that this resistance was due to the fact that the program had no

appeal to traditional Indians. They wanted their own program tailored to Indian needs, not one run by and for Spanish-Americans in which Indian children formed a minority. [13]

Scholastically Wax and Wax have some criticisms of Head Start, but on the whole they evaluated them as ranging from good to excellent. In some communities, however, this very excellence obscured the fact that they lacked broad community support and participation. Their excellence was achieved on the basis of colonial or "white man's burden" standards.

In most programs the teachers were well-liked, and their teaching standards high, but their involvement with the community was usually minimal. There was, however, severe criticism by parents of one teacher who taught during the year in the BIA schools and who was well-known as a severe disiplinarian. Her classes were much too rigid and structured for a Head Start program. The emphasis was on the acquisition of scholastic skills such as reading readiness and counting. The children spent much of their time sitting in rows, a few answering idiot questions while the rest squirmed in their seats. Wax and Wax surveyed only a few of the many Head Start programs in Indian communities, but this situation may not be altogether atypical. It points to the need for innovative teachers who are not bound by habit and are able to function in an unstructured environment, as well as to the need for some form of orientation for regular school teachers who wish to teach Head Start.

A second scholastic difficulty was the lack of materials relevant to the Indian children. In several programs, the purchase of materials was left to inexperienced VISTA volunteers. They bought expensive and inappropriate items such as dummy electric ranges which were outside the range of experience of reservation children. So too, many of the pictures and other items were more relevant to the urban white child than to the Indian. There was little, if any, cultural heritage programming in Head Start, which again reflected the lack of Indian involvement. [14]

Head Start has the potential to be an important program for both Indian children and adults; however, unless changes are made along the lines indicated in this paper, its success will probably be minimal.

4. Project Follow Through

The importance of continuing educational gains has been stressed in the description of Hill's remedial reading program. This is equally true of the gains made by preschool children in Head Start. Without some form of enrichment program in the primary grades, educationally deprived children may lose much of their preliminary progress when they enter an ordinary school program. [15]

Project Follow Through is a national enrichment program for kindergarten to grade three. Although not designed specifically for Indians, a number of programs are operated on Indian reservations. Sixty-five per cent of funds are provided through the Economic Opportunity Act, with

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act providing 15% and local contributions of cash and in-kind providing 20%. It is administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity at the request of local communities. These requests are granted on the basis of a number of criteria including the previous existence of a full-year Head Start program and a concentration of poverty. [16] Follow Through is a smaller program than Head Start, serving only 60, 000 children compared to 200, 000. One factor in this, especially important on the Indian reservations, is the difficulty of developing curriculum and reading materials in the native languages, a problem which Head Start, with its multi-media orientation, finds much less severe. [17]

In many ways, Follow Through parallels Head Start. Like Head Start, its philosophy is that the school should act as a co-ordinating agency for a number of services to children and their families. It offers comprehensive instructional, nutritional, health, psychological, and social services. It provides for maximum usage of school and community facilities, and meaningful parent participation, with employment of low-income people as aides and staff development programs. [18]

On the other hand, it differs from Head Start in several ways which may contribute to its effectiveness. First, it operates within the school system and so offers a vehicle for implementing change and community involvement within the school structure. In contrast, only 30% of full-year Head Start programs were operated by public schools, and many were offered only on a summer basis. [19] Secondly, Follow Through emphasizes research and development. It is more scientifically oriented, being used to field-test a variety of approaches to early childhood education. Each local area adopts one approach from a number of detailed "planned variations". The results of each project are then evaluated and the findings used to improve childhood education. The effectiveness of the research component is strengthened by the fact that Follow Through extends to grade three. In this way, it allows longitudinal study of the effects of compensatory education on the child. [20]

A number of "planned variations" are available. One experiment on the Hopi Reservation involved the use of Hopi-oriented curriculum. The children learn from reading materials and situations which are relevant to them, such as tribal folk tales. A story is read aloud in Hopi by the bilingual teacher or teacher aide, and the children are asked to discuss it in English. This method teaches English, while stressing the development of logic and concept formation, and the ability to express thought. [21]

A second variation was carried out on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation. This gave parents an important role. A group were trained as home aides, and these in turn trained other parents to carry on their children's learning activities in the home. Using paper and other inexpensive materials, they could play games teaching shape, size, colour, and other basic concepts. [22]

Parental involvement is an important factor in the success of Follow Through . This may take several forms. On the Kashia Pomo

Reservation, any parents not on the school board sit on a Follow Through Advisory Commission. Adult education is incorporated into the program, with the recognition that upgrading the academic and job skills of the parents can improve the child's home environment. Follow Through supports part-time college training for classroom aides in subjects such as psychology and early childhood education. Many aides work towards degrees and teaching certificates. At Rough Rock, Navaho aides are encouraged to attend adult basic education classes four times a week in the school. More advanced courses are given by teachers and university extension.[23]

The success of Follow Through in Indian communities is based on the degree to which it involves the Indians. It is a long-term project which involves training parents to implement educational goals, thus changing their attitudes towards it. Follow Through seems to be working for the Indians; however, as no critical articles were available on it, it is difficult to say how much more successful than Head Start it actually is.

5. Shoshone-Bannock Cultural Enrichment Program

Low achievement and a lack of acculturation are common in many reservation schools. School curricula are generally designed for and by Anglos. Many children have never had the experiences about which they learn with the result that the curriculum seems meaningless and irrelevant to them. "Dick and Jane" are a classic example of this.[24] The classroom cannot offer these experiences, and culturally enriching facilities are limited on the reservations, many of which are miles from the nearest town. Both distance and a lack of self-confidence, due partly to an uncertainty of how to act and a lack of appropriate clothes, inhibit children from experiencing these. When these children grow up, their knowledge of vocational opportunities and the outside world is limited. Many prefer to remain on the reservation by default, rather than making their way in an unknown and frightening world.

The school and tribe on the Shoshone-Bannock Reservation in Idaho proposed a two-week summer field trip through the Northwest to remedy this situation. Thirty grade six students were chosen, to be accompanied by six teacher-chaperones and two tribal resource people. ESEA Title III provided $19,528 for salaries and expenses. Three hundred dollars from the Summer Recreation Program provided a $5 a week allowance for each student, which gave them experience in budgeting their own money. The Agency Branch of Social Services provided wardrobe finances, since many students were self-conscious because they lacked appropriate clothing.

Before the trip, orientation discussions were held on safety rules, Indian culture, and social etiquette. Maps were drawn, and the girls were taken to a beauty salon to have their hair re-styled, all of which contributed to their self-confidence.

The goal of the field trip was to provide the children with a number of new experiences which would both stimulate their intellectual curiosity

and increase their experience and understanding when they returned to school. A second goal was to expose the children to the many vocational opportunities available to them, since their experience was often limited to a few occupations such as that of farm labourer or automobile mechanic. To this end, the trip included visits to a number of businesses, industries, museums, government facilities, and other tribes. A third objective was personality development and social enrichment. Many of the children were uncomfortable in unfamiliar situations. Eating in restaurants, sleeping in motels, shopping expeditions, and lessons in etiquette, health, and grooming helped counteract this.

Remedial education grounded in actual experience was an important part of the program. For language arts, students were encouraged to give talks about their experiences, using a tape recorder, which they could then play back, and to keep a diary. Role playing was encouraged by acting out the occupations they had seen. Games, songs, and other activities were pre-planned for the bus trips and helped to overcome the children's shyness with each other. Projects involving traditional Indian crafts were especially effective as knowledgeable children taught the others. Science lessons were conducted on natural phenomena that were passed in the bus. Visits to lumber mills, mines, and dairies resulted in talks on pollution and conservation. Keeping a map of their route, computing mileage and expenses provided practical experience in mathematics. An awareness of the concept of time was stressed through allowing the students to work out their schedule of visits to see the need for punctuality and planning.

It was hoped that the effects of the trip would reach more than the thirty children chosen. This hope was fulfilled. The children enthusiastically discussed the trip with family and friends. A number showed interest in potential vocations. During the trip they were given opportunities to ask the tour guides about pay and qualifications, and the need for a high school education was stressed to them. On the personal plane, they showed an enhancement of their self-concept, seen in their new ability to express their own opinions freely, their willingness to try unfamiliar experiences, and their increased concern for health and grooming. The constant teacher attention due to the low teacher-student ratio of one-to-five was thought to be a factor in this. Many learned to appreciate their own culture better through contrasting it with the outside society and other tribes. On the whole, the trip was evaluated as successful by tribe, students, and teachers.[25]

6. Bilingual Family School Project

The importance of community involvement has been stressed in this paper; this refers especially to involvement of the parents. The attitudes that the child learns in the home are perhaps the strongest in forming his character. If a child returns to a home where education is disparaged, it may lead to a negation of a program's effect; therefore, gaining the support of the parents is essential to implementing educational goals. Involving the parents can be

beneficial. If parents participate in a program, they are less likely to criticize it since their own involvement comes into question. Training parents in a program's objectives can lead to an extension of the educational process in the home. Finally, under-educated parents may themselves gain pride, achievement-motivation, and knowledge about their children from participation.

A multi-targeted program based on these principles was carried out among the Cherokee in Adair County, Oklahoma. This area has the greatest number of non-reservation Indians in the United States and is a hard-core rural poverty area, with 85% of the population on welfare. In a survey of Oklahoma, the South Central Region Educational Laboratory gave high priority to the needs of these people. Officials of the tribe and local school personnel listed a bilingual preschool experience and home and school involvement as priorities. Children entering school were suddenly cast into an environment in which their previous Cherokee knowledge no longer served as a relevant foundation for future learning. By eighth grade chronic failure was the rule, and 58% dropped out before entering high school.

The Laboratory developed two program objectives: to prepare bilingual children adequately for first grade and to support the parents' efforts to help the children with traditional public school material. During the planning stages of the project, the BIA began funding kindergartens for the Cherokee. Since these were without appropriate materials, staff, methods or objectives, it became apparent that the bilingual kindergarten could also serve as a model for these others. The final program lasted for one and a half years: from March to June of 1968, and September 1968 to June 1969. Total cost was $33,516.69, but there is no information on who paid this.

Because of mistrust of whites, a bilingual Cherokee woman was chosen as the Home and School Co-ordinator. She visited Cherokee parents in their homes. An initial group of four families, later expanded, provided 20 children. School staff were hired as much as possible within the Cherokee community. These included a teaching program associate, parent education teacher, teacher aide, cook, bus driver, and translator.

Criterion objectives for the children were developed in:

(1) Literature - comprehending and telling stories.
(2) Language - increased verbal and auditory discrimination;
- vocabulary - Cherokee and English;
- improved work-study skills;
- increased verbal expression.
(3) Music.
(4) Art.
(5) Social development and knowledge of self.
(6) Social studies - identifying common objects.
(7) Counting and numeration - reading and counting to ten;
- understanding terms expressing shapes and relationships (larger, smaller etc.)

(8) Health.
(9) Living things - awareness of and ability to name objects in environment.

From these it can be seen that the program concentrated on building vocabulary and comprehension, as well as basic social skills. The daily program was designed to provide experiences to meet these objectives. Instruction lasted four and a half hours. Bilingual experiences were emphasized. Information was presented in both languages for several days, before response and interpretation were asked of the child. Concrete objects were used extensively to build vocabulary in both languages, and children were encouraged to speak in complete, grammatically correct sentences.

The parents came to school each day and participated in adult activities. Program objectives defined for parents were:

(1) Increased vocabulary in both languages.
(2) Improved English sentence structure.
(3) An ability to read and write both languages at elementary levels.
(4) Basic knowledge about balanced diet and food preparation.
(5) Basic understanding of child development and an ability to relate this knowledge to their own child.
(6) Increased knowledge of how children learn, and how to stimulate and reward learning in the home.

The program included daily exposure to the children's program. The parents also studied Cherokee language every day, as well as various skills such as basketry and beading. These renewed interest in their heritage, while developing a salable skill. Seventeen parents participated on a regular basis and showed a significant increase in support of the school and its activities.[26]

Although the information provided in this article is sketchy, and there is a lack of follow-up data, it seems to be a worthwhile program which has several improvements over the Head Start program. The Cherokee program clearly defined the probable needs of the children in adapting to school and developed objectives to fulfil these. It concentrated on preparing the children linguistically. Since language problems are a major factor in the scholastic difficulties of Indian children, this seems important. It also seems more useful than the vague "intellectual stimulation" theory of Head Start. Parents were offered an interesting and creative program adapted to their own needs to entice them into the school. They were given detailed instruction in the education of their children. Home visits by a Cherokee woman were used to acquaint them with the program. Extensive use of Cherokee personnel in positions of authority was probably also a non-alienating factor. This differs from Head Start where parents were used, if at all, in menial supervisory roles and where there was neither programming specifically for parents, nor much effort made to inform the parents or the community.

7. Talolah Community School

The Talolah Community School is one of the most successful Indian schools. It was recently recognized as one of the ten best elementary schools in the United States and is unique in its status as an Indian-controlled public school. The school maintains close liaison with the community and is continually responsive to community pressure in its efforts to provide the most effective education for the children.[27]

The Talolah School, located on the Quinault Reservation in Washington, is a public elementary school serving 138 Indian children from preschool to grade six. After grade six the children are bussed ten miles off the Reservation to a public junior high and high school in Moclips. As a public school, Talolah is financed by funds from the Johnson-O'Malley Act, as well as various state and federal funds.[28]

The school is administered by a five-man all-Indian school board. The board is responsible for hiring the principal and teachers and administering funds. The principal of the school is Harold Patterson, a former missionary, who is dedicated to achieving the best possible education for the Indians, and who has been at the school for 16 years. Much of the success of the school is attributed to his efforts. There are six teachers, only one of whom is a Quinault Indian. One of the major problems of the school is teacher-turnover. A suggestion has been made that a local education college develop a course related to the problems of teaching on reservations. In this the Talolah School would be willing to help. (See Chapter IX for further information on teacher-turnover.)

Relationships with the community are close. Local Quinault are employed and encouraged to participate as teacher aides, consultants, and contributors to school programs. School personnel are encouraged to participate in school-community and community activities. The parent-teachers association is active and demanding.[29]

The curriculum of the school is designed to deal with those problems most pressing for the Indian student: limited literacy experience and externally-imposed inferiority feelings. It combines both traditional and innovative or experimental methods. Basically, the philosophy is "anything that works".[30]

The school offers a preschool program, both nursery school and kindergarten, in recognition of the fact that early experiences or deprivation may have a significant effect on later I.Q. In the elementary grades, after much experimentation, an eclectic form of non-graded organization was adopted. This best met the needs of individual pupils. Since the state of Washington demands grades, children are assigned to a classroom on the basis of three criteria: reading ability (as this is the most broadly used skill in classroom activities), social maturity, and teacher load. If a child's physical and social maturity indicates a higher grade than his reading level, he is assigned to that grade and commutes for reading activities. Within the class, students are grouped homogeneously on the basis of

achievement level in each subject. This is flexible in that the class is regrouped for each subject and a child may move to another group when his ability improves. Since classes are small, usually under 25 pupils, this is not hopelessly confusing; nor are students of different at ities completely separated from each other. This method is considered preferable to the whole-class system since Indian children are not verbally-oriented and do not tend to give attention to the lecture system. It also provides an approximation to the optimal situation of individualized personal contact. However, the whole-class approach is used in social studies, science, art, spelling, writing, and physical education since the content and skills involved in these lend themselves to a greater variety of approaches.

Auxiliary services are also provided. These include:

(1) Remedial reading. Children are not stigmatized by being separated from their peers, however. They meet with the remedial teacher for half an hour five days a week, for concentrated work in phonics, programmed reading, and penmanship.

(2) An evening study hall is held two nights a week with a teacher in charge. This helps children who have no place to study at home and is open to high school students as well.

(3) A full-time Indian counsellor is employed by the Community Action Program to check on reasons for absenteeism and act as liaison between school and parents.

(4) An education counsellor is employed for individual students and their families. He acts as liaison between the local community and the off-reservation schools. He also works with the young people to develop work and recreation programs. A work program in 1968 resulted in painting most of the houses in the community, and a summer camp, library, and recreation centre have been started. This is one of the many ways in which the school acts as a co-ordinating centre for services to the community (an objective which has been much touted for Head Start and Follow Through).

(5) A free lunch program is provided for all students.

(6) Special education is provided for students whose ability level or emotional problems make it difficult for them to function in an ordinary class.

(7) Quinault language, arts, and legends are taught in class, and the school has an Indian dance team.[31]

The major problem of the Talolah School is transferring its children to the off-reservation schools. There they are in a minority, and the curriculum makes no provision for Indian students. Coming at a difficult time in the children's lives, early adolescence, this results in a drop-out rate as high as 75%. The Indians feel that the "local elementary school might be striving to prepare children for attendance at a high school which has no real place for them". To counteract this, Patterson has suggested

establishing a junior high school on the reservation. Although Talolah alone does not have enough children to justify the school, he suggests that if the children from Queets, the only other town on the reservation, were bussed in, there would be. At present, children from Queets attend non-reservation schools from grade one on. This change should slow, if not halt, the drop-out trend. [32]

8. Fort Thomas Diverse Capacity Project

The Fort Thomas Diverse Capacity Project is a second example of a successful program that came about within the public school system. The Fort Thomas schools are in a rural public school system. Eighty-five per cent of the children they serve are Apache from the nearby San Carlos Reservation. The basic problem was that, while the children entered school enthusiastic and eager to learn, after about three years they tended to become self-conscious and withdrawn. This tendency hampered the learning process, and their achievement levels fell rapidly.

The Fort Thomas Diverse Capacity Project was begun in 1965. It had the help of the Western States Small Schools Project, sponsored by the Ford Foundation. A preliminary survey showed that a constellation of factors, located in both the community and the school, were responsible for the children's withdrawal. Due to financial reasons, efforts were directed only at changing the school.

Four goals were set up by the directors of the project:

(1) To improve faculty understanding of the differences between Anglo and Indian cultures.
(2) To identify significant problems confronting the Indian in an Anglo-oriented school.
(3) To modify the traditional textbook-oriented curriculum.
(4) To establish an instructional organization best suited to the needs of both teachers and children.

In the first year of the project (1965-66), efforts were directed at modifying the instructional approaches. Primary teachers (kindergarten to grade three)were introduced to a "directed reading activity". They were urged not to assume a child's background of conceptual and linguistic information, but to demonstrate each concept as it occurred during reading. Thus, if the reading mentioned a squeaky wheel, the children were allowed to push a doll buggy whose wheel squeaked.

Intermediate teachers were encouraged to use a unit or topical approach, rather than the traditional textbook curriculum. Teachers and students together identified areas of mutual interest, such as farming or the desert. Committees were formed to investigate these, with an emphasis on language and concept development. Units lasted four to six weeks. In the first year, teachers were required to make considerable changes in their teaching methods and do much advance preparation for classes.

Cross-visitation, discussions, films, and trips to other schools

were provided for the teachers. A summer workshop was held to discuss differences between Indian and Anglo cultures, and to assist teachers in preparing instructional materials.

In the second year, the emphasis was shifted from teacher-training and general classroom approaches to specific instructional programs and overall school organization. A number of new courses were introduced: creative art, programmed reading, mathematics using "Cuisinaire rods", language experience approach to reading, and a visual and auditory discrimination program.

The primary grades adopted an ungraded approach; each child was allowed to learn at his own speed. The intermediate grades experimented with a departmentalized organization; each teacher concentrated on one subject. Since this tended to fragment the instructional program, however, a self-contained classroom was substituted. Individual teachers administered the more specialized programs.

The project was evaluated by a battery of achievement tests. In general, it was found that Indian achievement remained less than Anglo. This was not surprising considering the cultural background advantages of the Anglo in school. The Indian children made significant gains in three areas by 1968, however: reading readiness, arithmetic reasoning, and spelling. In comparisons between the children in 1966 and 1968, it was found that much larger gains were made in the earlier grades than in the later years. From these results, it can be seen that the project's goal of maintaining achievement throughout the elementary grades had not been reached. On the other hand, a hopeful sign was seen in the jump in school attendance from 76.6% in 1963-65 to 87.8% in 1965-68. This coincided with the beginning of the project.

Four other goals of the project were mentioned on page 30. The following comments were made on their success.

(1) To improve faculty understanding of the differences between Anglo and Indian cultures.

In general, receptive teachers changed their attitudes; less secure ones did not. Therefore, it is important initially to select teachers who are able to teach across cultures.

(2) To identify significant problems confronting the Indian in an Anglo-oriented school.

The main problem for Indian children is their limited experience of cultures other than their own. Yet, in school, they are expected to operate within the terms of that culture and learn its relevant information. For this reason, Fort Thomas adjusted the curriculum so that the children would experience the things they had to learn.

(3) To modify the traditional textbook-oriented curriculum.

(4) To establish an instructional approach best suited to the needs of both teachers and children.

To carry out these two aims, the co-operation and understanding of the teachers were essential. Then the directors made clear that changes were

not being forced on the teachers, but were to give them more freedom, they found teaching more rewarding. Both teachers and administrators found that instruction must have priority over organization. It was not productive to set up an organizational program first and try to "fit" the instructional program to it.[33]

9. Rough Rock Demonstration School

The Rough Rock Demonstration School is one of the most widely publicized experiments in Indian education. It has been made a test case in innovative programming and Indian participation, and its success or failure is being closely watched by all those concerned with Indian education.

In 1965, an experimental school at Lukachukai on the Navaho Reservation met with failure after one year. Lukachukai, which was proposed by Dr. Robert Roessel and a number of Navaho leaders, was to be a test case in Navaho-run education. It foundered because of administrative difficulties. The OEO, which funded it, superimposed a staff of academic and community development specialists on the existing staff of the BIA boarding school at Lukachukai. As a result, the Indian school board found it had no effective power. Therefore, it was decided that if an experimental school involving Navaho participation was to be developed, it must be totally under the control of the Navaho themselves.[34]

Rough Rock Demonstration School was the result of this decision. In 1966, the BIA turned over a new boarding school to a non-profit corporation of Navahos. Called DINE, it was formed to receive funds for maintaining and operating the school. The BIA provided $300,000 for the first year, the sum it estimated that it would have spent to operate the school. The OEO provided an additional $329,000.[35] Rough Rock was designed to succeed where more traditional programs for educating the Navaho had failed. It was to be under direct control of the Navahos themselves; it was to serve the community as a whole; and it was to offer a curriculum relevant to the Navaho.

DINE turned the funds and administration of the school over to an unpaid Navaho school board which was elected by the community. This board was unique in that it was not composed of experts or professionals, but rather of interested Navahos. Many members spoke no English and, as a group, had only five years of education between them. This board was to be in charge of hiring and firing staff, and to have a final say in curriculum and all other administrative decisions. As a first gesture of independence, the school board refused the services of a nationally prominent board of advisors.[36]

Indian school boards are not unique - there were over 50 on the Navaho Reservation in 1967 - however, they were usually restricted to minor roles such as housekeeping tasks and truancy and were seldom more than a rubber-stamp for the administration.[37] The extent of decision-making power of the Navaho board was unusual. Robert Roessel, an Anglo who

had been closely involved with Navaho education for many years and who had decided views of his own, was appointed as director. Nevertheless, the view of both Dr. Roessel and the school board was that the administration was to serve the school board, not vice versa. The school board was not willing to shrug off its duties onto professional administrators. In seventeen instances disagreements were decided in favour of the school board and, as Roessel later admitted, their decisions were usually better.[38]

The principle of community control included involving the entire community in the operation of the school. This was done in several ways. Navaho parents were hired as dormitory aides, instead of professionals. Every five weeks a new team of parents was hired, with a one week overlap for the old team to train the new. Thus, each child had a parent or relative near him at all times, while the community benefitted from the new source of jobs.[39] This was done through the innovative method of cutting salaries to hire more people. By paying less the school did not need to demand such high qualifications and could hire people who would be unable to find work otherwise.[40] At the same time, the school offered an in-service training program for the staff to learn English and raise their qualifications. More advanced students were given an opportunity to take high school or college extension courses.[41] By 1968, 60% of the staff were Navaho.

Secondly, adult education classes were offered to the community. After canvassing the area to determine needs and interests, courses were offered in basic literacy and economics (such as how to make change at the store) as well as auto mechanics for the men and cooking and nutrition for the women.[42]

Thirdly, parents were consulted in the education of their children. A study by Arizona State University in 1963 showed that only 15% of teachers had ever visited their students' homes either because of a heavy work load or a fear of rejection. At Rough Rock, teachers were required to visit the parents at least twice a year to discuss their children's progress.[43] Parents were also invited to visit the school and take part in its activities whenever they wished. According to Roessel, there were over 100 parents at the school at any one time.[44] In addition, parents were invited to attend monthly home and school meetings, as well as meetings between the school board and the local government, to discuss school matters and work out new projects. Additional auxiliary services were offered to make the school a focus of community activities. The laundry, showers, recreation facilities, and library were all open to the public.[45]

All these programs and a number of other more strictly defined community development programs were co-ordinated and operated by a special branch of the Rough Rock administration, the Community Services division. This branch operates on a "feedback" relationship with the school board. It is directly responsible for developing and operating special programs which will solve both short-term economic problems and the long-term problems of poverty, unemployment, and lack of education. The existence and responsibility of this branch reflect the degree to which Rough

Rock is not just a school, but an instrument for change in the entire community.[46]

Teaching staff included ten full-time classroom teachers, one remedial reading specialist, one speech therapist, an art teacher, a librarian, two Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) experts, two recreation leaders, and 15 VISTA volunteers. This staffing reflects the degree to which Rough Rock specializes in linguistic problems. Of the 91 people on full-time payroll, 46 are Indian, of whom 35 are from Rough Rock. Those staff who do not speak Navaho are required to learn it.[47] Innovation and experimentation are encouraged in the classroom. Because the school is not operated by the public school system or the BIA, there is more freedom in this, and the lack of rigid employment requirements has allowed the school to attract many innovative and sympathetic teachers.[48]

Rough Rock is both a boarding and a day school, serving an area of over 1,000 square miles. As of 1968, it enrolled 317 children, 266 in boarding and 51 in day school, in grades Head Start to six. As a boarding school, its most important innovation was to allow the children to go home on weekends. Previously, this policy had been rejected because it was thought that the children would not return or because the effect of their education would be undone. However, home visits are an important part of home and school relations to Rough Rock. Because the school recognizes that the children belong to their family and not to the school, parents who were previously unwilling to lose their children have sent them, and the school has gained, not lost, students.[49]

As of 1968, Rough Rock adopted an ungraded system. Children range in age from 6 to 16. This system removes the stigma of non-promotion and arbitrary age-grade designation and allows the staff to focus on personalized instruction. Essentially, however, this is an administrative organization; it does not affect what the children actually learn.[50]

The curriculum of the school is based on a "both/and" philosophy; that is, the children are taught to function in both the Navaho and the Anglo worlds, rather than being forced to choose between the two cultures.[51] For this reason, classes are provided in the skills necessary to both ways of life.

A cultural identification program forms a core curriculum around which other information is disseminated. Classes are held every day in the history, culture, and language of the Navaho. Speaking Navaho is still essential for many jobs on the reservation and to communicate with the older people.[52] A second phase of the program concerns lessons in Navaho arts and crafts, taught by skilled Navaho artisans. This has several functions: it gives employment to local people; it revives crafts which might otherwise die out; and it aims to provide the children with a marketable skill. That Rough Rock children are already beginning to sell their own work reflects the program's success.[53]

A third phase of the program is the Navaho corner in every classroom in which audio-visual materials of Navaho culture are available.

Leading Navaho artists, translators, elders, and medicine men were recruited to record chants, legends, history, and autobiographies that many anthropologists had thought were extinct.[54] An offshoot of this is the Navaho Curriculum Center. This department produces curricular materials, including texts, tapes, and filmstrips, based on Navaho culture. It also provides technical assistance for schools wishing to implement a Navaho social studies program.[55]

Rough Rock also aims to make children functional in the Anglo culture. The core of this is the widely-publicized Oral English program. As it differs from many other English as a Second Language (ESL) programs, and as English is a major problem in educating Indian children, I have described it in detail.

Many ESL programs concentrate on a sentence-pattern practice, emphasizing vocabulary building and comprehension. A basic set of sentence patterns is used as a repeated matrix for presenting vocabulary; for example, "The big boys jump. The little boys run." Yet this method fails to reflect normal English dialogue. It also fails to recognize that unless detail is placed in a structured pattern, it is quickly forgotten. The Rough Rock method begins with the linguistic assumption that English is a system of rules, not primarily a list of patterns or vocabulary. This system is revealed through structurally related sample sentences and questions that reflect normal dialogue. The constant aim is the creation of syntactically correct, phonologically well-informed and meaningful sentences.

In the classroom this involves several techniques. Dialogues between pupils and teachers are used to illustrate transformation, deletion, expansion, and substitution. The use of correct English, however minimal the sentence, is rewarded. Errors are immediately corrected by the teacher, rather than waiting for the child to do so. The assumption is that during the pause the children will be mentally reviewing the incorrect sentence. A carefully written program is supplied for each classroom session; it predicts likely errors, based on Navaho linguistic rules, so that the teacher can avoid them if possible. Persistent errors are often embodied in games or dramatizations in which the silly characters can be corrected without embarrassment. This element of drama and appeal is at least as effective as repetitious drill. Teaching techniques are designed to give the child more speaking time than the teacher, to provide meaning through appealing real and pretend situations, and to provide as much visual and tactile aid as possible. No student is asked to perform until the teacher feels he will succeed. This accommodates the Navaho dislike of trial and error. Traditionally, the child watches until he feels confident. A short test of lesson objectives follows each class, usually dressed up as a guessing game or similar activity.

Rough Rock encourages the children to lapse into Navaho, on the theory that this actually helps their progress in English. It prevents the acquisition of pidgin English habits which then must be unlearned and ensures that comprehension and expression are stressed, rather than English per se.

Allowing the children to speak Navaho also prevents the internal psychological "split" which occurs when children are forced to choose between two cultures. When engaged in Navaho lessons and activities, students speak Navaho. When engaged in English lessons and activities, they speak English. Thus, language becomes "situation-dependent". By the upper grades, this results in facility in switching between languages and cultures, and ease in both. [56]

Closed-circuit television is an important vehicle in the teaching of English. Its use is based on the philosophy that however the teacher "floods" the children with English, by talking English herself, playing records and tapes or motivating the children to speak, she may not be getting their full attention. Therefore, there will be little retention. On the other hand, children are noted for their rapt and indiscriminate attention to television. In addition, teachers can use all the currently available audio-visual aids and movies on closed-circuit television. [57] At Rough Rock, TESL experts also prepare a number of programs of their own. Once a month short plays are made up, using staff members and VISTA volunteers as the cast. These plays incorporate grammar lessons in appealing situations; for example, intonation and the lengthening of vowels, gender, number, tense, "to be", "is going to",and so on. [58]

The success of Rough Rock's Oral English program can be seen in comparing the results of a Rough Rock-designed individual oral test of sentence creation ability. Rough Rock beginners showed a gain of 30% in ability over one year. Students at another reservation school, using a different program, gained only 11%. On an individual oral test of second-year English objectives, more than half scored 90% or more, and only 7% scored less than 75%. More subjectively, the English ability of Rough Rock students is a matter of constant praise by visitors. [59]

A good deal of controversy has surrounded the evaluation of Rough Rock. For two years a great deal of publicity, much of it laudatory, was circulated. In 1968 the OEO, which funded much of the program, arranged to have an eight month evaluation made by Dr. Donald Erikson. His findings were far from favourable. Although he agreed that the school had succeeded in becoming a focus of community activity, he had a number of criticisms to make. He charged that the school board did not have effective control in classroom programs and was often not informed by the director. Instead, it concentrated on administering non-professional jobs and community development, often with signs of nepotism. He also found that payment or other incentives had been used to entice adults to attend adult education classes. The dormitory parent program was criticized on the basis of inadequate guidance and training and high turnover. This often resulted in the dormitory staff reproducing the worst of the disciplinary methods they themselves had known in BIA schools. Although there was some good teaching in the classroom, especially by Navaho teachers, there was a lack of co-ordinated instructional planning or in-service training. In a comparison with the BIA's experimental school at Rock Point, he found that Rough Rock

failed to demonstrate superiority either in emotional climate or in academic skills. Indeed, there was a puzzling rejection of Navaho culture, perhaps because of the emphasis on it.[60]

The methodology and findings of this report were highly criticized by Erikson's advisory committee. They suggested that, basically, Erikson and his staff were suffering from "culture shock". Although Erikson had been well-intentioned, he and his staff had been "turned off" by a lack of acceptance by the Navaho. As a result, they had condemned the whole system.[61]

It is difficult to know which of the two factions is right. Perhaps, as Coombs suggests, the answer lies somewhere between. A number of reputations were involved in the success of Rough Rock. Any suggestion that there were serious deficiencies in the program was intolerable. However, Coombs points out that Erikson did not criticize the social theory behind Rough Rock. He only said that it was difficult to put into practice.[62] Rough Rock had only been in operation for two years. It has now had a change of Director; Robert Roessel has been replaced by Dillon Platero, a Navaho. Even in Erikson's report there are indications that this change was for the better. If Indian education is to be controlled by Indians, it must have Indians in all positions. Roessel himself has said there are limits beyond which a professional Anglo educator, however well-intentioned he may be, must fail to understand and communicate with the Indians.[63] In the final analysis, Erikson's critical report has been constructive. It indicates exactly where and how Rough Rock must change to put its theory into practice.

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IV SECONDARY SCHOOL PROGRAMS

1. Project Vision

Money alone is not a factor in whether Indian students complete high school and go on to some form of post-secondary education. Many scholarships and loans are available from the BIA and other agencies, and a number of tribes have established trust funds for continued education. The problem is that these funds are not being used. Many educators are beginning to feel that the answer to the drop-out problem lies in the aspirational-motivational field.[1] Project Vision is one program that attempts to solve this problem by remedial education and by stimulating interaction between Indian high school students and their college-oriented peers.

Project Vision was carried out at the BIA's Chilocco Indian Agricultural School by Oklahoma State University. A one-year program, it lasted from April of 1967 to May of 1968. Under contract with the BIA, Oklahoma agreed to

> undertake a program to encourage reading-improvement and stimulate interest in higher education and vocational information within the students at Chilocco Indian Agricultural School; as well as provide practice teaching experience to Oklahoma State University student teachers.

A staff member of Oklahoma, Loren Davis, was selected to supervise project activities and co-ordinate the program. The student teachers selected to teach at Chilocco were instructed to begin associating with the Indian students for the rest of the spring semester. They participated in recreational activities and acted as informal tutors and advisors at Chilocco. At the same time, the project supervisor identified 15 to 20 grade eleven students who had the potential for higher formal schooling. The student teachers invited these students to spend several days at the Oklahoma University campus for orientation activities. This helped reduce the uncertainty and lack of familiarity which are often cited as reasons for not continuing education.

The next phase of the project was an eight-week state-accredited summer program at Chilocco. Eight student teachers were assigned to work in the program with the Chilocco staff. Their duties were to assist the Chilocco staff with the summer program and to work with the Indian students in group tutoring sessions. These were designed to facilitate

further education by promoting reading improvement, subject integration, and the acquisition of vocational information. The student teachers were also instructed to find out how course information might be more effectively illustrated and how information might be made available to students on an individual self-study basis. Four teacher aides were also assigned to the summer program, and they lived in the dormitories with the students. Although this arrangement provided some problems, according to the authors (Egermeier and Davis), there were many compensating advantages.

The summer program was evaluated as generally successful, although several minor procedural changes were necessary. The major criticism was that the student teachers found the summer school more unstructured than they had expected. To avoid this, more extensive procedural orientation might have been better. The summer program was not continued in 1968.

The final phase of the program called for student teachers from Oklahoma University to do their practice teaching at Chilocco during the 1967-68 school year. This was to further their experience of teaching Indian students. Seven students were placed for a two-week teaching session, and all found the experience beneficial. Many left with a commitment to teach in BIA or other schools for disadvantaged children.

During the project, it was also intended to further the Indian student teacher inspirational-motivational relationship by encouraging the Indian students to invite student teachers to their homes. Although this was to be a personal arrangement, safeguards were provided by having the visit approved by the appropriate family, tribe, and agency. This part of the project had limited success. Only four visits were made out of a possible 19. Nevertheless, these were evaluated as successful in improving cultural awareness on both sides.

The most important instructional aspect of Project Vision was the establishment of a reading improvement centre and a vocational self-help centre. This was to occur in conjunction with the summer program, making use of the student teachers and teacher aides; however, it was delayed until mid-way through the year. Once established, it seemed to be one of the most effective parts of the program, not least because it was continued after the student teacher program was ended.

The vocational information centre was designed for use voluntarily or with assistance by teachers, teacher aides or student teachers. It provided essential decision-making information such as vocational encyclopedias, career monograghs, and occupational information. It also included a library of fiction and non-fiction works of inspirational and motivational content.

The reading improvement centre was also designed for voluntary or assisted use. Students were selected with the help of the guidance department. They included the top ten per cent of the juniors and seniors, but no student who showed a sincere interest was turned down. The centre contained multi-level reading materials in paperback form, self-evaluation material, reading improvement manuals, and machine aids to reading

improvement such as film strips. Classes held in the centre were flexible. Students worked mainly on the area in which they felt weakest, but generally devoted about a third of their time to each of the three areas of vocabulary, comprehension, and reading rate. Each night that the controlled reader was used for vocabulary, tapes were used to allow the students to hear the correct pronunciation of a word as well as its meaning and uses.

Attendance was excellent, ranging from one to two hours. The success of the program was attributed to several factors. The students were free to choose their own material and level after a conference with the teacher in which these were explained. They were assisted in their work, but never ordered to do anything. They were encouraged to get a well-rounded background in all three areas of reading: vocabulary, comprehension, and speed. A part of their time was requested by the teacher for work on the controlled reader as this stressed all three areas. The students were encouraged by the teacher to try new material. Their attendance was not enforced, but if they were absent they were made to feel missed. This flexibility was considered one of the most effective parts of the program. As evidence of the favourable evaluation of the reading improvement centre, it was expanded in the next year to use resources not expended in the other program areas. Unfortunately, there are no statistics on the actual measurable improvement of the students, which would have been a help in assessing its effectiveness.

On the surface, Project Vision was successful in its stated goals. Its value for training prospective teachers of Indian students was demonstrated. The vocational information and reading improvement centres developed by Oklahoma University will be continued and improved by Chilocco staff. In the motivational area, many of the Indian students expressed an interest in continuing their education, and the guidance department intends to follow-up their success. It seems to me, however, that the people who benefitted most were the student teachers. The authors are rather vague in their evaluations, and the low ratio of home visits, despite the fact that these were encouraged, seems to indicate that student teachers did not establish a very strong rapport with the Indians. Whether the inspirational-motivational association was successful, only the future achievement of the Indians will show. Perhaps extensive polling of the Indian students, as well as achievement tests to measure whether there was any real improvement in their academic motivation, might have shown different results.

My main criticism, however, is of the length of the project. The contract was not renewed. The reason given is the difficulty of placing student teachers at Chilocco, as it does not meet Oklahoma University's requirements for teaching assignments. To continue the project, certain differences must be reconciled. It seems important that for such a project to have long-term success in inspiring Indian students to continue their education, it must be continued. Otherwise, it will reach only a very few and become another example of "too little, too late".[2]

2. Project Awareness

Project Awareness is not strictly a secondary school program; however, as its aims are similar to Project Vision's, I have put the two together. The contrast between them is very interesting.

Project Awareness was a program run by whites, with the co-operation of the Indian tribe and other agencies. Beginning in 1963, students from the University of Minnesota conducted a summer program on the White Earth Chippewa Reservation. The project was funded by soliciting foundations, private individuals, churches, and other groups.

The main aims of Project Awareness were to provide educational enrichment to Indian students and to stimulate vocational motivation and educational aspirations. In the early years of the project, a recreational program had been important. By 1967, however, the directors decided that this was less important than the preceding objectives, especially since university students tended to have more experience and interest in academic pursuits than in recreation. Therefore, the description that follows is of the revised activities of Project Awareness in 1967.

The specific goals of Project Awareness were:

(1) To provide the Indian with special assistance in learning basic educational skills.
(2) To stimulate the Indian in the development of important attitudes which would lead to the completion of a high school education.
(3) To prepare the Indian for a post-high school period of community adjustment and expand his perceptions of the world of work.
(4) To stimulate community organization and pride in adult Indians.

Because of limited funds, only one area could be served. Pine Point, a village of 500, was chosen. In preliminary preparations for the program, 15 university students were selected in February. From February to June they were given weekly orientation sessions. These were to develop insight into such things as the Pine Point community, Chippewa history and culture, and the living conditions of the Indian in Minnesota.

The first phase of the project was educational enrichment. This served children from grades one to twelve. In the elementary grades, grades one to six, the goal was mainly to review work covered in the previous year. Two 45-minute classes were held each morning. Classes were divided into three groups: grades one and two; three and four; five and six. Subjects were mathematics, reading, and language arts. For mathematics, grades one and two had more group activity than the others. They worked with Minnebars, and learned simple addition, subtraction, and telling time. Grades three and four, and five and six were given drill sheets with problems of varying difficulty. These were tailored to the needs of individual students. In language arts, the goals set were to help the students express themselves in writing and speaking and be more creative in their thought. Grades one and two used work sheets on grammar and spelling, dramatized stories, and started a school newspaper to encourage creative

writing. Writing letters to travel agencies for information was added to this for grades three and four. Grades five and six also studied poetry, made their own crossword puzzles, and discussed the value of education. For reading review, the aim was to encourage non-verbal students to participate and to help students with difficulty in reading, by having them read aloud. Weekly trips to the library encouraged students to read on their own for enjoyment.

In addition to these activities, movies were used to illustrate subject matter. Weekly trips were made to museums, zoos, and so on. Two findings were that the children learned best when actively involved, for example in educational games, and that much individual attention was necessary due to the range of their abilities. This program reached 60% of the eligible students.

For high school students, two goals were set: first, to provide individual assistance in different subjects; secondly; to create a one-to-one relationship appropriate to discussing post-high school vocational and educational opportunities. Students used their high school texts for review. A ratio of one volunteer to three or four students helped implement the second goal. The high school program reached 68.3% of the eligible students.

Project Awareness activities were not limited to school subjects, however, and many other activities were planned to enrich the total experience of the students.

One problem for Pine Point children was that they entered high school in grade eight, a year behind their Anglo peers. As a result, they often lacked confidence because of their unfamiliarity with it. Project Awareness proposed an orientation tour of the school, but this was turned down by the principal; however, orientation meetings were held at Pine Point. Indian high school students were invited to the first meeting. They were asked to fill out a questionnaire evaluating their experience and to make suggestions for the orientation. At a second meeting, high school students were asked to talk to the younger students about their experiences. At the same time, parent meetings were held to promote interest in their children's education and familiarize them with the elementary and high schools. Speakers were invited from the schools. Parents were encouraged to become involved in the PTA.

During the summer, 33 field trips to universities, businesses, government facilities, and so on were arranged. These were to familiarize students with post-secondary and vocational opportunities, and to encourage them to finish high school and continue their education; they were publicized by weekly flyers. Discussion groups were held before and after. The trips were intended mainly for the seventh grade and high school students, but others participated. Sixty-eight per cent of the eligible students participated in at least one trip.

The volunteers also worked with Boy Scout, Red Cross, and 4-H activities. These were to involve parents in their children's activities and offer experiences to the students. Two camping trips were arranged for

the Boy Scouts, on which parents accompanied them. The 4-H club held classes in food preparation, wood-working, clothing, arts, and crafts. Parents were persuaded to provide leadership. Red Cross meetings helped create interest in humanitarian acitivities around the world and acquainted participants with the problems of people in other countries.

A library had been begun in 1965 with the acquisition of a building and some books. A library committee of local adults was established to provide administrative organization and to give the adults an opportunity to develop organizational skills. In the winter, it was used as a study hall with two women of the community as aides. In 1967, the volunteers used several ploys to encourage community interest in and use of the library. It was kept open by volunteers who acted as librarians and catalogued the books. Elementary students were taken to the library for books every week, and high school review sessions were held there as much as possible.

Informal learning experiences were arranged for the community. These were designed to provide the Indians with a wider knowledge of their own culture and of the outside world. A Chippewa history and culture series provided weekly films, lectures, and discussions. Indians from the community and from other areas were invited to speak. Community participation was encouraged by wide publication of the topics and by volunteer visits from door to door. A series of educational and vocational films were shown to students, using the facilities of the University of Minnesota Audio-Visual Extension Service. These helped reinforce the attitudes gained during field trips and supplied additional information.

Finally, an attempt was made to provide individual urban experience for Indian students and to assist them in their articulation to post-secondary institutions. Five volunteers invited students to their homes for weekend visits. During the Thanksgiving, Winter, and Spring vacations, groups of students were brought to the Twin Cities for four-day visits. They stayed in the homes of volunteers and were given tours to familiarize them with the working world and their place in it, to familiarize them with Anglo life, and to maintain the rapport developed over the summer. Eleven fifth grade, 14 sixth grade and 11 seventh grade students participated in this.[3]

Project Awareness is interesting to compare with Project Vision. Both relied on peer-group interaction between college-oriented whites and Indian students to stimulate post-secondary aspriations. Both supplied educational enrichment programs. Within its limited aims, Project Vision may have been successful. Project Awareness, however, seems much more important on a long-term basis.

Project Vision worked on the attitudes of Indian students in a boarding school. This setting is isolated from the total environment of the students, the community in which they were brought up and whose attitudes they had learned. Project Vision had no interaction with the community. The newly-awakened ambitions of at least some Indian students may have been dampened when they returned home to a family in which there was

little acceptance of education. Although there was some attempt to contact the community through visits to Indian homes by the student teachers, these had limited success since only four visits were made.

On the other hand, Project Awareness worked within the community. It aimed to change the attitudes of both adults and children towards education; it tried to create adult interest and involvement in the children's learning experience. This can be seen in the orientation meetings between parents and school officials. It can also be seen in the attempt to involve parents in 4-H and other extra-curricular educative activities. An attempt to provide relevant learning experiences for the adult community can be seen in the establishment of a library and in the Chippewa lecture series. All of these succeeded in involving the parents and must have had some impact in creating positive attitudes towards education. This recognition of communal attitudes towards education is important, especially in Indian communities where family ties are strong and a tradition of filial obedience is not easily broken. Unless parental attitudes are favourable, little can be done for the children.

3. Upward Bound

Upward Bound is a project designed to inspire Indian high school students to complete their high school education and go on to some form of post-secondary education. It gives them a chance to learn and overcome any social, emotional or educational obstacles in the way of doing this.[4] Upward Bound fills a valuable role in combatting the drop-out problem and providing future educated leaders for the reservations.

Upward Bound was formulated by the Indian Education Center and the College of Education of Arizona State University. Funds of $105,000 a year were provided by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the University (80% and 20% respectively). The Director, George Gill, and 50% of the staff were Indians.

In 1967, Upward Bound identified 80 Indian students suffering cultural and financial deprivation who had completed their sophomore year in high school. Students were recommended by high school officials, tribal councils, parents, and other agencies. They were selected after a personal interview with the project staff. These students were brought to the ASU campus for an eight-week summer residential program. Core curriculum included language arts, typing, mathematics, Indian culture identification, philosophy, health, vocational careers, and guidance. Extra-curricular activities included a recreational program, cultural enrichment events, and numerous field trips. This summer session was ungraded. Emphasis was laid on individual excelling and continual re-evaluation of progress. An important factor was the small classes and low student to adult ratio. Each group of 16 students had two project tutors who helped in all phases of the program, including study halls, academic assistance, and group and individual counselling.[5]

The two major objectives of the program in 1967 were attained:

(1) To show that Indian high school students can be recruited for such a program.

(2) To show that they can do well. [6]

The second phase of the project involved an extensive academic follow-up of the students through the school year. Gill and his assistants visited each school and student twice a month to give counselling and tutorial sessions, cultural enrichment, and recreational programs, to test and evaluate, and to consult with the school and parents. At Easter, students were brought back to ASU for a three-day reunion and evaluations. [7]

In 1968, the same students were brought back as high school seniors. In 1969, the scope and objectives of the project were extended. A number of new objectives were defined:

(1) To develop self-improvement and civic improvement through goal-setting, thinking, and co-operation.

(2) To elevate their school status and curriculum grades through appreciation of their talents and utilization of their potential.

(3) To build problem-solving attitudes and skills in the areas of greatest interest and importance, i. e. self-understanding, and acceptance, human relations, personal and family health, and vocational competence.

(4) To increase enjoyment of life by increasing their appreciative participation in cultural arts, social activities, and recreational programs.

(5) To acquaint and re-acquaint the student with a thorough and continuing overview of the culture of the American Indian and Indian affairs.

(6) To strengthen their philosophy of education as the stepping-stone to self-sufficiency, independence, and self-satisfaction.

(7) To become as competitive as possible without casting aside the values and culture of their Indian society. [8]

Upward Bound continued to bring high school students to ASU for the summer program; however, a "Bridge" program was initiated for those who had participated in the 1967-68 program and wished to attend university in 1969-70. Of the 80 students who graduated from high school, 40 were selected for the Bridge summer program. During the summer session, they carried a full course load of six semester hours. Each student was required to take English, a three-credit-hour course, taught by a professor proficient in Teaching English as a Second Language. They also registered in one other three-credit-hour course related to their planned major. These 40 students were housed in the student dormitories with the 60 Upward Bound students. They were given individual tutoring by Upward Bound staff and allowed to participate in all extra-curricular Upward Bound activities. At the end of the five-week session, they returned home and went to the college of their choice in the fall. Funds for their education were ensured by the BIA, tribal councils, colleges, and private agencies. Funds for the Bridge program were provided by Upward Bound and the BIA. The academic and vocational careers of these students are being followed by the project staff. [9]

As of fall 1970, 160 students had participated in Upward Bound. About one half of these went on to some form of higher education. Another quarter are employed, working to obtain money for college expenses.[10]

Although not unqualified, these figures seem to indicate success for Upward Bound. Several factors in the program contribute to this. Perhaps most important is the fact that it extends over several years and allows extensive follow-up and re-emphasis of its goals during the school year. Secondly, it allows a great deal of individualized contact. A low student to staff ratio is combined with an emphasis on personal development and understanding rather than academic achievement. Thirdly, it involves parents and community. Parents are invited to visit the summer school and Easter evaluation sessions and are consulted in the follow-up. The program also has 15 parents on its advisory board.[11] Community and tribal leaders, too, are consulted on the selection of students and on their progress.

4. Counselling for Socially-Withdrawn Girls

I have included a description of this program because it seems to me to point out one of a number of less obvious factors which contribute to the academic difficulties of the Indian.

In 1968-69, an exploratory Pupil Personnel Services Project was carried out by Arizona State University at Phoenix Indian High School. Funded by the BIA, it was aimed at isolating problems in an Indian boarding school and developing techniques for counteracting them. Many problems such as drinking, fighting, and homesickness were well-known. However, a less obvious problem which was seriously debilitating for many Indian students was social withdrawal. This occurred despite the fact that all students were Indians, many with peers from their own tribes and villages. It was exhibited most often among girls, many of whom had one "best friend" with whom they did everything. In the absence of their friend, the girls would withdraw completely rather than join other groups or go somewhere alone. Loneliness and low self-esteem were the most obvious symptoms of social withdrawal.

To counteract this, a female counsellor arranged an experimental group counselling session. Eight girls participated, which seemed to be the maximum number for effective communication,and the group met one hour a week for three months. No topics were forbidden. The counsellor acted more as a leader and resource person than as a lecturer. The major problem was breaking down the barriers of shyness. This was done by allowing the girls to play cards until they felt free enough to speak, a process which took about four sessions. Self-evaluation questionnaires were used and formed an additional source of discussion.

Most evaluation of this program was necessarily subjective. Attendance was 100%, although it was not mandatory. The members of the group formed a strong kinship feeling, and several formed friendships

across tribal lines, a rare occurrence. Some began participating in extra-curricular social activities.[12]

Although I am generalizing across tribal lines in saying this, Salisbury noted that, among Alaska natives, extreme reticence in expressing any emotion was a traditional norm. This often led to feelings of isolation and emotional disturbance in high school and university students and was a factor in dropping out.[13] If this is true of other Indian groups, it should be recognized and helped. The value of group counselling in providing an outlet for emotion and enhancing self-concept is significant and may contribute to improved scholastic performance.

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V POST-SECONDARY PROGRAMS

1. Navajo Community College

The Navajo Community College is the first Indian-run institution of higher education. As such, it is of major importance in the drive towards self-determination and education relevant to the Indians themselves.

Navajo Community College is a junior college, opened in 1968-69. It was financed by the Navaho tribe, the federal government through the Office of Economic Opportunity, and by private agencies such as the Donner Foundation. In the first year of operation, it shared facilities with a BIA boarding school at Many Farms. A permanent site was donated by the tribe, however, and $5.6 million were requested from the federal government to finance permanent construction. [1] In 1971, a new campus at Tsaile Lake was dedicated, [2] and the first phase of construction is expected to be completed by June of 1972. [3]

The administration of the college is in the hands of a Board of Regents appointed by the Tribal Council and representing the five major areas of the reservation. The Board is dedicated to serving the needs of the students and maintains close contact with the student body and other staff. The President of the Student Council sits on the Board with full privileges and responsibilities. Rather than a Senate composed only of faculty, the Senate is made up of equal representation from students and faculty, as well as representatives of the non-academic staff such as clerks and janitors. In administration, the philosophy of the College is involvement and acceptance of all, regardless of education and experience. [4]

In the first year, the Director of the College was Dr. Robert Roessel of the Rough Rock School. The current President is Ned Hatathli, a Navaho. Many of the staff are Navaho, and their qualifications range from little or no formal schooling to a Ph. D. degree.

The only entrance requirement is that a student be over 17. Neither a high school diploma ,nor English,nor Indian ancestry are required. Seventy thousand dollars in scholarships are available for students who are unable to finance their own education. [5]

The College offers two types of courses. Over three quarters of the curriculum is vocational and technical, as job skills to alleviate unemployment are one of the most critical needs on the reservation. Between 60 - 80% of adults are unemployed. Traditional Navaho arts and crafts are also offered, as at Rough Rock, both to preserve these forms and provide a marketable skill. In addition, the College offers a university-parallel curriculum with courses in English, History, Physical Education, Maths

and Sciences, Sociology, Psychology, and Anthropology. These allow Navaho students to make a gradual transition from the reservation to outside universities.[6] Because many students speak no English, courses are offered in Navaho, with English as a Second Language. The Board rejected Roessel's proposal that Navaho heritage studies be established as a core curriculum around which other information was disseminated: however, Navaho culture, history, and language are required of Navaho students.[7] The College offers a two-year course only, but students are not required to complete their courses within a time limit.[8]

The College has faced several problems. In the first semester, absenteeism was as high as 50%. This was attributed partly to the fact that many students had been out of school for years and were unable to adjust. Others may have come out of curiosity, or as an inexpensive way to pass the time. Because the college opened in mid-academic year, it failed to attract the recent college-aspiring graduates. The next year may improve this situation. Drinking is also cited as a problem but is being combatted by the student government.[9]

The College is also beginning to show success. In the first year, it had 350 students, of whom two graduated. In its second year, 17 were graduated.[10] As a personal observation, I think that anyone reading the Navajo Community College News cannot help but be impressed by the variety of activities and the enthusiasm shown by both staff and students.

2. College Orientation Program for Alaska Natives (COPAN)

One factor which is less often mentioned in relation to the academic difficulty experienced by Indians is the cultural dichotomy produced by an Anglo education. Salisbury, writing of Alaskan Native students, points out that many who have experienced a Western education find themselves caught between two cultures, unable to return to either. Having lived in the comparative comforts of a boarding school and having become aware of the opportunities available to them, they are unable to re-adjust to the different life-style and comparative poverty of a rural reservation. Yet, the Native student may not have acquired the values of Western civilization which would help him to adjust to it. Although the Western school is operated according to these values, they may not be readily apparent to the Native student. In part, he is cushioned by the predominantly Native population of the schools. Even after graduating from high school, he may have little real understanding of what Western society is about.

Completing high school is often not enough. Students who have the intellectual potential or want a more skilled job understand the need for post-secondary education. Without it, they will not be able to find the work they wanted when they finished high school. Yet, of the 12% of students who go on, 50% drop out in the freshman year and only 2% are likely to graduate. Salisbury suggests that a critical factor may be an incomplete understanding of Western values and a lack of self-knowledge in relation

to them.[11]

To overcome this problem, the University of Alaska developed a two-month summer orientation program for Native students. COPAN (College Orientation Program for Alaska Natives) was begun in 1964. In 1966, it served 14 freshman volunteers. These were supported by funds from the BIA. The objectives of the program were:

(1) To orient the student to college life and help him choose realistic goals.
(2) To improve self-concept by
    (a) encouraging individuality and the development of autonomy;
    (b) improving his perception of his abilities;
    (c) encouraging him to express his thoughts and feelings to others. (Reticence, to the point of being unable to identify an emotion, is a traditional Native trait, and one which leads to psychological problems in college.[12])
(3) To give the student an appreciation of his original culture and a better understanding of his adopted one by helping him to compare them objectively.

Students from day schools, who had never experienced dormitory life, were housed in the university residence. Students from rural areas, who were used to boarding schools, were placed with host families. This was considered important in developing understanding. Host families were professional people and, where possible, a member of the profession the student wanted to enter. The host family arrangement allowed students to socialize with non-Natives, whom he might otherwise not meet, without social penalty from his peers. It gave him a glimpse of a life he might want for himself, and an understanding of the values and behaviour of a Western family. This experiment has been proven successful, both by the favourable evaluations given it by the students, and by the social contact which many students maintained with their hosts throughout the school year.

Classes took up a full day. Four courses were offered: English, anthropology, Native culture seminar, and testing, guidance, and college orientation.

The English course was designed to improve the students' knowledge of English and of Western culture. Provocative films and stories were used as a springboard for discussion and essay-writing. A sample course outline shows the nature of this:

First week: Language: Communication or Alienation?
Readings: The Stranger, How Beautiful with Shoes
Movie: The Miracle Worker
Essays: Choice of topic (250 words minimum)
1. That Time of My Life When I Felt Most Happy.
2. My Ideal School.
3. Should the Legal Age to Drink, in Alaska, be lowered?

Other topics were American Establishment: Dream or Nightmare?; The

Individual as Hero; Initiation into Manhood or Self-hood; The New Morality. The result, seen in the students' essays, was a mature and open evaluation of their experience in relation to the social problems discussed.

To give students an understanding of both their original and their adopted cultures, they were required to attend an anthropology course and a Native culture seminar. Students attended Introduction to the Study of Man for two hours daily as part of a larger class of summer students. Many in-class topics were later discussed in informal coffee-hour seminars. A variety of speakers were invited, and many topics discussed, some concerning Native problems, some more general. Although the seminars needed some guidance and prompting by the staff at the beginning, the lack of criticism or moralizing soon led to free discussion. The seminars helped students crystallize their feelings and were partially responsible for the openness of the essays.

The course on college orientation, guidance, and testing was designed to help the students adjust to university life. Topics covered ranged from a review of essential skills, such as note-taking and studying, to orientation to the concept of "university" (purposes of higher education and so on) to tours of the campus facilities.

Twelve of the 14 students entered college. Most were doing well at the end of the first term. Several may continue on a probationary status but, in general, the students were aware of their deficiencies, and morale was high.

If COPAN has a flaw, it is that it abandons the students just as they are beginning actual college competition; often they become bewildered by the freedom and strangeness. The decision to stay or drop out may depend on whether they can receive encouragement at this point. COPAN is planning a one-year core program to help marginal Native freshmen. This "bridge" program would be taught by staff working exclusively with small Native classes. It would ensure that students receive maximum contact and support while learning the skills necessary to compete in college.[13]

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VI ADULT EDUCATION

1. University of Montana Adult Education Program

The record of Indian education in the past has not been good. Many Indian adults have had few, if any, years of formal education and what they have had has often been irrelevant to the work available to them. Large segments of the Indian population on the reservations spend much of their lives on welfare. Basic literacy is a fundamental need for these people as is exposure to the kind of work available to them and actual vocational training.

Yet, despite this need, much of the concern in Indian education centres on Indian youth. Only a small proportion of educational programs are intended for adults. In view of the poverty and unemployment prevalent on the reservations, this is unfortunate, not only for the sake of adult Indians themselves, but because re-education of adults aids in transferring favourable attitudes to the next generation. [1] The lack of adequate adult education is one of the most important criticisms of Indian education as a whole.

The University of Montana instituted a 20-week adult education course to reach these people and prepare them for a more positive role in life. In its second year, as of 1969, this program was funded by four federal agencies: the Department of Labour; the Office of Health, Education and Welfare; the BIA; and the Public Health Service. The program is capable of serving up to 100 trainees. Eligibility requirements limit it to those who are at least one quarter Indian, have lived on a reservation in Montana or Wyoming for the past six months, and score between the fourth and eighth grades on the Nelson Reading test.

The program provides basic education and pre-vocational orientation, as well as family life education for trainees and their wives, and a day-care centre for preschool children. On entering the program, trainees are given an orientation relative to expectations and support available. They are then housed in campus facilities, married students with their families.

The basic education program stresses the communication skills necessary to finding and maintaining a job. Reading, mathematics, language arts, and social studies are offered. To facilitate instruction they are grouped at five reading levels, each assigned to one of five home room teachers. This allows students to identify with others at the same level of ability. If a student outstrips his group, he is assigned to a higher level. Students with a strong sense of responsibility or those who do not fit into

existing categories are allowed to conduct independent work in association with staff members. The student continues until his level of achievement is high enough to qualify him for the vocational school of his choice.

In addition to basic education, students are given a pre-vocational orientation course which allows them to experience employment possibilities and requirements. This consists of working a half day in the Missoula Technical Center Shop Program to each half day of adult education. Counselling is given, and vocational training is then provided through the BIA and the State Employment Service on-the-job training program.

Family Life Training is considered one of the key portions of the program. It is geared to produce several important attitudinal changes which are necessary to implement the other phases of the program if it is to have long-term effect. All trainees take "Money Management" and "Looking and Acting Your Best". In addition, wives of trainees take "The Family Within the Community", "Health, First Aid, and Home Nursing", "The Family", "Meal-planning and Food-shopping", "Child Care", "Home Management", "Learning to Sew", with optional "Advanced Knitting and Sewing". These courses are designed to help them maintain a stable home while their husbands are working.

A day-care centre with four full-time teachers tends children of married couples while they are in school and provides a child development centre and nursery school. A secondary and more lasting benefit, however, may be the instruction, formal and informal, that parents receive in child care. Many become more aware for the first time of their responsibilities to their children.

The results of the first year of the program are promising. An average gain of two grade levels was made in 20 weeks. Success is also indicated by the numbers still training or now working. Non-statistical gains were also apparent in such things as appearance, poise, attitudes and values (such as the substitution of long-range goals for immediate gratification), health and social behaviour. Many became aware for the first time that they could provide for themselves. In all, there was a significant improvement in self-concept which had been low on entry.

The program was not without problems, however. Many trainees had the social and emotional characteristics of economic failures, such as alcoholism, a lax moral code (according to middle-class standards), and child neglect. Homesickness and the difficulty of sitting indoors were other problems, although recreation facilities were provided. Staffing was critical in overcoming many of these problems. Three counsellors, specialists in education, employment, and family life respectively, were on 24-hour call. Teachers had to be capable of providing daily successes and displaying an interest in their students. This was important because for many students motivation was less a problem than self-concept. Shyness, defeatism, and difficulty in communicating had to be overcome by the teachers before progress could be made. [2]

2. Gila River Career Center

The Gila River Career Center is a new vocational-technical school designed to supply business with its manpower needs, while improving the socio-economic status of the impoverished area it serves. It is located on the Gila River Reservation in Arizona, (unlike the University of Montana which is an off-reservation program, which may have some effect on its success), and trains Indians from the Pima and Maricopa tribes. The $1.3 million plant was financed by a loan and grant from the Economic Development Administration and is owned by the tribe. Operational funds come from a variety of sources, both government and tribal. At present, it is operated by the Central Arizona College under a 25-year renewable contract with the tribe.

The program is designed to be an Indian operation. Many members of the staff are Indian, and non-Indians will be replaced by Indians as they become available. Anyone between the ages of 19 and 60 is eligible for the program, and monetary allowances are provided for those who lack finances. The Career Center offers training in six major areas: agriculture, clerical services, automotive industries, health services, building trades, and basic education. The latter allows high school drop-outs to obtain a General Equivalency Diploma, recognized as equal to a high school diploma. Individual counselling is available to all students.

Perhaps the most important innovation of the Gila River Career Center is the close link it maintains with State Manpower Services. The philosophy of the school is that it exists not merely to provide an education, but to tap the unexploited manpower resources on the reservation and to provide business and industry with much-needed skilled workers. The school aims to provide a guarantee of a job at the end of training for every student. To this end, the Center tailors its programs according to information on the availability of positions provided by the Arizona State Employment Security Commission. A seven-man team from the State Employment Service has been assigned for recruiting, testing, and placement. In this they are assisted by a data-computing terminal which keeps detailed records of student information to aid instructors, counsellors, and placement officers.[3]

The Center has only been in operation since March of 1971; however, its prospects are good. The drop-out rate has been practically nil, and attendance and punctuality rates have been improving since the program began.[4]

3. National Indian Leadership Training

One of the most desperate needs of the Indians is for effective leadership. Indians have suffered for years under an enervating system in which white government officials and "specialists" dictated their needs to them. Despite the recent incentives to community initiative from the Office of Economic

Opportunity, many Indian groups have been unable to take advantage of these opportunities because of a lack of knowledgeable leaders who can gain united community support.[5]

There are many reasons for the lack of effective leadership in Indian communities. The system of democratically electing a single tribal chieftain is a new one. Traditionally, decision-making took the form of open discussion until a consensus was reached, with multiple leaders (such as a peace chief, a war chief, and so on) who came to the fore only when they were needed. The difficulty of electing a chief who is representative of majority opinion is complicated by the traditional pattern of withdrawing in protest, rather than voicing disapproval. The leader who is elected may only be representative of a minority who approved of him and voted. Thus, leaders are often not able to unite the community, and there is a communications gap which results in a project being shelved for lack of tribal support.[6] A second reason for the lack of effective leadership from the older, more experienced members of a tribe is fear, especially the fear of violating treaty rights and having treaty monies and privileges withdrawn.[7] A third factor in the lack of effective leadership is the "brain drain" from the reservations. Many of the younger, educated Indians prefer to move to the cities and compete in the fields in which they were trained rather than return to the poverty and rural isolation of the reservation.[8]

However, the past trend of being dictated to by the whites is gradually being reversed. More Indian groups, looking at the Navaho and other Indian-run experiments, are beginning to want self-determination, but if these experiments are not to end in debacle, they must have effective leadership. To meet this need, National Indian Leadership Training (NILT) was developed.

NILT began in May 1970. It was funded by the Ford Foundation and sponsored by the Navajo Community College. NILT proposed to work with Indian groups which have not been able to make effective use of their present leadership or exploit the resources of their trained and educated youth. Its major aim, according to the director, a Kiowa, is to develop Indian leadership which can control and effect change for the benefit of the Indian community.

The program is directed at three target groups: functional leaders, those now responsible for decision-making in the Indian community; potential leaders, those in the community who have the potential for leadership, but no means of influence; and future leaders, the educated youth who will assume leadership. The program's emphasis is on this latter group.

To develop present leaders, NILT employs a team of all-Indian specialists whose skills range from community development to economics, law, education, and Indian studies. This team spends much of its time in the field. At the request of tribal leaders, consultants may be brought in to provide technical advice and aid leaders in making sound decisions. These consultants, in a series of workshops, acquaint interested tribal members with background information to their problem, e. g. legislative

and legal processes, and general principles to be followed to obtain the desired results. The skills learned in these workshops can then be applied to any other problems that may arise. The consultant team cannot take the initiative in defining a tribe's priorities or prescribing solutions, however, since this would be contrary to its stated philosophy. Its goal is only to give leaders experience in the general skills involved in the decision-making process, not to tell them what to do.

For the potential leader, the man who has an interest in but no means of affecting decision-making, NILT offers an internship program. Usually selected from the tribe with whom NILT is working, the intern acts as an "advance" man for the team, researching material relevant to his tribe's problem, and the resources available to effect change.

In its goal of involving the future leaders, the young educated segment of the population, the organization sponsors a series of Indian Studies workshops. These are planned by Indian students from the University of New Mexico, the University of Albuquerque and the Navajo Community College, and designed to give Indian youth experience and understanding in Indian affairs. NILT also offers an eight-week summer internship program to provide Indian students with practical experience in community development. First, the students participate in classroom discussions with the NILT team, examining current issues in the Indian community and learning leadership skills. They are then sent out to local reservations to acquire practical experience. It is hoped that this course, which is designed for college credit, will motivate students to return to their reservations where they are most needed after graduation.[9]

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VII COMMUNITY-CONTROLLED SCHOOLS

Community control of education is one of the most important principles of the call for Indian self-determination. The most direct way in which this is accomplished is through having Indian school boards with full discretionary powers. At best, community control leads to curriculum and teaching methods which are sympathetic to the Indian, increased involvement in education by both parents and students, and the growth of pride and confidence in the community as a whole. However, comparatively few efforts have been made in this direction, and even fewer have succeeded.

Several reasons have been cited for this. One is the difficulty of bringing the community together to act on a particular problem. Fear of violating treaty rights and losing government funds, [1] apathy, and a lack of leadership (discussed more fully under National Indian Leadership Training) are all factors in this. A second reason is the lack of professional people, who commonly form the nucleus of a school board, on the reservations. A third reason is that Indian culture contains no tradition of locally-initiated and controlled formal education. The school, historically, has been an institution forced on the Indian community and administered by whites. [2]

This next section is concerned with the attempts of Indian communities to control the education of their children. The differences in procedures used and outcome illustrates very well the causes for success and failure in such an undertaking.

1. Ramah

Ramah is an Indian community on the Navaho reservation in New Mexico. In 1970, it formed an Indian school board to run its own junior-senior high school. One and a half years earlier the New Mexico Department of Education had ordered the Ramah high school closed because it failed to meet state accreditation requirements. The alternatives faced by the community were to have their children attend a BIA boarding school or travel 40 miles daily to a school in Zuni, New Mexico and perhaps drop out. A lawsuit, conducted with the help of the Office of Economic Opportunity, to stall the decision was unsuccessful. Therefore, the community elected a school board which was then incorporated as a private non-profit organization independent of the state educational system. (This procedure differed from Rough Rock where a non-profit corporation of interested Navahos received funds and then turned them over to an elected school board.) Finances were acquired from the BIA. It agreed to contribute $2,204 per pupil annually, the amount which would have supported a student in boarding

school. Support in preparing curriculum, hiring staff, and preparing facilities was received from a number of agencies. The tribal OEO office contributed a $65,000 grant for renovations, with much of the labour supplied by the community. The OEO contributed a $25,000 curriculum development grant, and technical aid was supplied by a Navaho Ph. D. candidate.

A summer program was conducted for students returning from boarding school who were to live and work at the school site with a staff of 14 counsellors. The aim was to bring students, parents, and school board together to discuss priorities in Navaho education in order to guide the development of the school. The consensus was that students should be able to understand and participate in Navaho culture, be employable, and be able to go on to college. Thus, the school should offer both vocational and academic training, as well as Indian studies.

The school was opened in September, 1970 and, at present, is financed completely by other than state sources. It is open to all resident students regardless of race, and at present enrols 122 Navahos and 21 Anglos in grades seven to twelve. Although not accredited by the state, five colleges and universities have promised to accept suitable Ramah graduates. Evaluations are currently carried out by the DBA, a private Navaho educational office, which acts as liaison to the State accreditation office.[3]

It is too soon to evaluate the success of the education offered by Ramah (which is, of course, the most important criterion in assessing the value of Indian school boards); however, its success in setting up a community controlled school, independent of external sources except financially, is noteworthy. This becomes especially apparent in comparing it to the next program described. Ramah and the Loneman Demonstration School represent two different methods of attaining community control. That the former is much more viable is clearly demonstrated.

2. Loneman Demonstration School

An example of an attempt at community control of education which failed can be seen in the Loneman Demonstration School Project. In this program, factionalism was rife, and any guidance and support provided by sources external to the Indian community were at best wavering and ambivalent.

The Loneman School is on the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation, the second largest reservation in the United States. The people are Oglala Sioux and have a good record of community participation in school affairs. In 1957, the BIA began to close its day schools and transfer the pupils to larger consolidated schools. The Indians opposed the closing of the schools as they served as centres of community activity and proposed community-controlled schools as an alternative. In 1964, in response to the urgings of the OEO to initiate "grass-roots" community action, they approached the BIA with an offer to continue operating these schools. In this way, they hoped to ensure quality education for their children, while maintaining their feelings of closeness and familiarity with the school itself.

Loneman School, a small school in the White Clay district of the reservation, was finally settled on by the Indians as the place where the experiment should be carried out. To this end, the support of the White Clay district leaders and the Education Committee of the Loneman School was enlisted. The Education Committee proposed that the project be sponsored jointly by the BIA and the OEO. Under contract, the BIA was to turn over the school plant and also provide previously budgetted funds of $150,000. The OEO was to supply additional funds for special programs and the employment both of educational specialists, and of local people as bus drivers, teacher aides, and instructors in Indian language and culture. The tribe proposed to operate the school in a "manner demonstrating methods, materials, techniques and procedures adapted to help the Sioux children obtain optimal results from their educational opportunities". It focussed on the specific problems of:

(1) Teaching English as a second language.
(2) School-community relations and parental involvement in the educational processes.
(3) Home and school visitation.
(4) Cultural identification.
(5) Native language learning.
(6) In-service training and staff orientation.
(7) Guidance and counselling.
(8) Adult education.
(9) Auxiliary services.

From this it can be seen that the Loneman School was to be very much similar to Rough Rock in its objectives and programming.

The take-over was planned for 1966-67, and the Indians were confident that the contract would be negotiated, but the BIA countered with a letter cautioning more detailed planning. The Indians called in Dr. Robert Roessel from the Rough Rock Navaho school as consultant and arranged to have a seven-man Advisory School Board elected and trained in school administration at the Black Hills Teacher College.

An attempt to re-negotiate the contract failed in 1967-68. The BIA felt that it was "not convinced, however, that the Board was ready to take over complete responsibility for the school". It should be noted, however, that the local BIA officials were aware of a number of drawbacks to the plan. They knew that the program did not have full community support and that its implementation might lead to prolonged turmoil within both the federal-tribal and intra-tribal political structure.

At this point, in the fall of 1967, the biennial tribal council election occurred. The opposition party charged that the party in power, which had supported the school, had created confusion in school affairs and had contracted unreasonable financial obligations for the tribe. As a result, the party which had supported the demonstration school was defeated. This left the School Advisory Board acting without official tribal sanction. The OEO refused to deal with anyone but the tribal council and so cut off funds

for the project. During this period, interested members of the tribe had approached the BIA with a proposal to form a non-profit corporation (OYATE, Inc.) on the Rough Rock model. Negotiations broke down, however, and the issue proceeded along political lines.

On March 7, 1968, President Johnson spoke on Indian self-determination, specifically advocating Indian school boards. The Board was encouraged, feeling they would be one of the first to benefit. A referendum was held in the White Clay district,and the school project was finally defeated.

In many ways, the Loneman Demonstration School resembled Rough Rock: in curriculum, community involvement, even in the use of Dr. Roessel as advisor. Why did it fail? McKinley, who described the program, lays much of the blame on the BIA. He feels that the policy of the BIA towards community-controlled education is ambivalent. The project was continually stalled by the demands of the BIA for more concrete reassurance. The BIA may have been responding minimally to immediate pressure and popular demand, or it may see community control only as a prelude to transferring educational control to some other agency, federal or otherwise. However, it should be noted that neither the OEO nor the BIA is interested in transferring control in such a way that it becomes a tool in a political power play, as it was in this situation.

Secondly, McKinley lists the lack of experience of interested groups in uniting the community. To this I would add, as Wax and Wax point out, the need for efficient communications between the interested parties and the voters concerned.[4] The referendum which might have given the Indians their school was defeated because many voters had not had the issues explained to them. Fear of violating treaty rights and fear that they (the Indians) would be forced to pay increased taxes to run the school were two main reasons why the referendum was defeated.[5]

To me, the main difference between Rough Rock, Ramah, and the Loneman School was that the Navaho experiments could not become political issues. Funds were not turned over to the tribe; they were given to a private, non-profit corporation divorced from tribal politics. In this way, responsibility for the school and its policy was stable. On the Sioux reservation, a change in tribal leaders every two years might have resulted in a refusal to assume the obligations of the previous council. Factionalism is common in reservation politics. Perhaps the best way to handle such a situation is to disassociate education from the intra-tribal political structure and give increased power and responsibility to groups other than the tribal council.

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VIII CULTURAL HERITAGE PROGRAMS

One of the fears of Indians and concerned whites is of losing the Indian heritage. The unique identity of Indians is no longer regarded as something to be erased in the "melting pot" of American society. Besides the integral value of preserving a unique culture, without which the world would be poorer, educators are beginning to realize that Indian culture can only be eradicated at a cost of leaving Indian youth aimless and without a perspective on their place in society, caught between two cultures and a part of neither. [1]

In this next section, I have described two programs, both operated by the BIA, the former agent of eradication. Indian culture, history, and language programs form an integral part of many innovative educational programs, notably Rough Rock and Project Awareness. These programs differ from the Rough Rock type. They are designed not only to preserve Indian forms, but to reinterpret them; to use them as a basis for new forms which will enrich both Indian culture and the larger society.

1. Creative Writing

Creative writing is a new program which, it is hoped, will have value both for the Indian students it reaches and the self-esteem of Indians as a whole. Sponsored under contract by the BIA, it is designed to encourage creative writing in BIA high schools. The program was organized by Mrs. Terry Allen, author of Navahos Have Five Fingers, and a teacher at the BIA Institute of American Indian Arts, in co-operation with Dr. John Perry, a socio-linguist who specializes in English as a Second Language and the literature produced by non-native speakers of English. The program has two goals: to develop a level of achievement worthy of commercial publication, without discriminating against the less obviously talented.

As a first step, the two directors met with English teachers at BIA schools to seek their co-operation. The directors stressed the validity of Indian culture and the necessity that students be allowed to express their own world view without being molded into Anglo expectations of conventional development. At the same time, they reassured teachers that creative writing does not mean the abdication of all standards of grammar; they suggested only that accuracy alone tended to be inhibiting. In creative writing classes, students should be allowed to write whatever they chose, without any obligation to show it to the teacher. Hopefully, as a relationship of trust was built up, the student would voluntarily show his product to the teacher. Then constructive criticism could be made, which would

be all the more effective since it was voluntarily sought. It should be emphasized to the students that the work was not done to meet any immediate outside requirement, but simply for the pleasure of expression.

The long-term aim of the project is to develop a new form of literature, using English to articulate intrinsically Indian concepts. As Indian culture borrows from English for its own expression, English itself will be modified linguistically and extended culturally to cope with a new range of ideas. The significance of this, a new distinctively Indian form of literature, to both Indians and white is apparent. [2]

2. The Institute of American Indian Arts

The Institute of American Indian Arts is one of three post-secondary institutions operated by the BIA. Opened in 1962, it is designed to develop the artistic talents of the Indian. Admission is restricted to federally-recognized Indian students between 16 and 21 who show a high aptitude for arts. [3] The philosophy of the Institute, as stated by the director Lloyd New Kiva, himself an Indian and an artist, is not to preserve the traditional forms, although these are taught; rather, it uses these as the jumping-off point in the creation of new forms. He emphasizes that the Institute is not a "how-to-do-it" school; instead, the students are immersed in a creative atmosphere and given complete freedom to decide how they will express themselves. [4]

The Institute offers both an academic program and a creative arts program. Students are required to take both. The high school program offers grades ten, eleven, and twelve. Academic courses include business training, salesmanship, typing, English, mathematics, applied sciences, history of art and art appreciation, Indian history, and anthropology. In the arts program, students may choose between fine arts such as painting and sculpture, crafts, ceramics, woodworking, metals and textiles, dramatic arts, creative writing, dancing, and music. They can change their area of interest when they wish. This emphasis on both arts and academic courses is designed to prepare students for a number of fields. Upon completion of the course, students may go on to post-graduate training or enter a career in pure art or an art-related field. [5] A side benefit is that many students are motivated to do well in the academic course in order to stay in the arts program. [6]

The post-graduate program offers an additional three years of training. Students under 23 are required to spend one quarter of their time on academic subjects. An experimental program has lately been set up off campus for students who wish to learn how to operate their own studios. Students have a staff adviser and are encouraged to learn how to produce art economically by doing their own purchasing and accounting. A showroom on campus sells student work. [7]

There are 32 teachers, 16 in arts and 16 academic. Both Indian and white, they fall into two categories: resident staff and visiting

specialists in artistic fields. They have almost complete freedom in how they teach. An attitude of "extending themselves towards their students" is considered more important than course content.[8]

The success of the Institute is described by the director. Many of the students enter the Institute hostile to the white world and uncertain of their place in both Indian and Anglo culture. They are aimless and lack self-pride. The Institute gives them both through an emphasis on their cultural heritage and the pride of creative accomplishment. On entry, most of the students score low on achievement tests, especially in the communicative arts where the average is between the third and fifth grade. Yet, of three graduating classes, 50 - 60% have gone on to some form of higher education, either vocational training or college.[9]

Kewaquedo makes several comments on the success of the Institute. In the area of staff-student relations, she notes that Indian teachers seem much more capable of "extending themselves towards the students". This she attributes more to their Indianness than to any fault of the white teachers. The white teachers, though willing, often simply failed to understand their students. Secondly, she notes that many students retain an overt hostility towards whites; however, they are generally favourable to the Institute itself. The paradox may be partly explained by the fact that the curriculum, as a form of education meaningful to the students, overcomes their dislike of an Anglo-sponsored school. She also points out the danger of incipient paternalism in the Institute. There is a tendency for the school to become a showpiece of Indian affairs, a development which may make students overconfident of their real ability.[10]

The Institute is currently undergoing reorganization of program and direction and is moving towards a more practical orientation. Over a five-year period, it hopes to provide occupational training programs in all the arts. In September 1971, this will begin with cinematography, graphic arts, teacher training in the arts, and museum training. This new vocational orientation is being implemented through an affiliation with a number of Indian schools and colleges.[11]

It is too early to say whether this represents a divergence from the Institute's previous philosophy and whether this is a change for better or for worse. To me, the Institute represents a landmark in Indian education. It was the first to incorporate Indian culture into a practical, overall developmental program; to use Indian culture as the basis for a realistic and pragmatic educational philosophy. As such, its influence on current trends in Indian education has been significant.

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IX TEACHER TRAINING

The teacher of Indian students has been heavily criticized. He has been accused of having middle-class values, of lacking sensitivity to his students, of discrimination, even of preferring not to teach Indians. Some of these allegations may be true, but they are overstated. Most actively like their students and try to understand them. The fact that many work in difficult conditions in isolated schools with a heavy work-load indicates some enthusiasm.[1] Ideally, teachers of Indian students should be Indians who understand the children, are bilingual, and are used to reservation life, but these are hard to find. More will become available as more Indian students graduate from college. In 1968, the BIA found that 16% of its teaching staff, 27% of its administrative staff, and 92% of its instructional aides were of Indian ancestry. The figures are lower in the public schools.[2] This indicates that the situation is improving. However, until more Indians are available, educators must concentrate on finding sympathetic white teachers and giving them the best possible orientation to teaching in Indian schools.

The next two programs deal with training teachers and paraprofessionals. The first describes a program designed to overcome the cultural barriers between whites and Indians; the second discusses the use of aides in relieving the pressures on the teacher in the school.

1. Santo Domingo Cultural Orientation Program

A high teacher turnover is a chronic problem in Indian schools; often teachers stay only one or two years. The BIA estimates its teacher turnover rate at 25% annually, with 40% leaving in the first year of teaching. As a result, it must replace 600 teachers every year, often with teachers who have had little or no training in teaching across cultures.[3] Because of this, the quality of teaching declines. One or two years is not long enough to understand the particular problems faced by Indian students and to adjust teaching methods to them. Bayne and Bayne point out that, in addition, it may take almost a year for the teacher to be accepted by the students before any progress can be made.[4]

Some of the reasons for a high teacher-turnover can be attributed to the rural isolation of many Indian schools. Teachers find it difficult to adjust to the lack of communication with the outside world and many grow to resent the personal limitations of living in the small tightly-knit community of the school compound. Many complain that the BIA is dishonest in presenting to them an idyllic picture of reservation life during recruitment.[5]

A second cause of high teacher turnover is "culture shock". Bergman et al. define this as "a reaction to strong psychological stimuli of cross-cultural strangeness... usually accompanied by a violent indiscriminate rejection of everything that is a part of that other culture". Culture shock occurs when workers go to another culture with "enthusiastic expectations of being welcomed and becoming close to their new acquaintances". Though this may happen, it is a long-term process, not an immediate nor an automatic one.[6]

Bayne and Bayne note that many of those who come to BIA schools are young couples seeking the challenge of creative cross-cultural teaching. These high expectations are not fulfilled, and after a year or two they leave.[7] Culture shock and the teacher turnover are important problems, for the best possible teachers are needed if Indian students are to fulfil their potential.

Santo Domingo is a public elementary school in New Mexico. It enrolls 730 children, mostly Indian, in grades one to eight and has a staff of 30 teachers. Although the children come from a culture unfamiliar to many of their teachers, the stated aim of the school since its beginning in 1956 has been to maintain and reinforce their beliefs, values, and customs through the educational process. This aim is carried out through a teacher orientation program. The idea for this came when the project director and school counsellor undertook an extensive research project on cultural differences. He concluded that the educational system had prepared teachers to work with children of middle-class values and orientation; it did not prepare them to teach culturally different children.

In the orientation program, teachers are introduced to their students' differences through books, films, conferences, and informal discussions with faculty members. Throughout their stay they enrol in university extension courses such as anthropology and the education of the culturally different child. Study groups are held to keep up with new developments and relate personal experiences with the pupils.

Orientation is geared to the Indian student as well, for he too is encountering a different culture. The students have assemblies with guest speakers from cultures similar and different to their own and a variety of dramatic and musical productions by groups of other backgrounds. The school curriculum emphasizes subjects such as anthropology, history and literature of different cultures, and Teaching English as a Second Language. These are supplemented by home room study groups. The basic emphasis of the curriculum is on teaching the communicative arts so that the student will be able to function, no matter what kind of situation he finds himself in.

According to the teachers, the orientation program was responsible for their continuing at the school. It corrected their misconceptions about Indian children: that such traits as quietness and a lack of competitiveness were equivalent to stupidity. It allowed them to understand the issues that were really major ones for the children, such as customs and taboos. To the teachers of Santo Domingo, understanding was the cure for culture

shock.[8]

2. Teacher and Dormitory Aides

Teacher aides and dormitory aides are an important innovation in many Indian schools. In part, the need for these is a function of specific problems faced by Indian schools in the United States. Bilingual teacher aides are required because of the large percentage of Indian students who speak only a native language or lack fluent English. Dormitory aides are required because of the need for boarding schools in those areas where distances are too great to allow students to attend day schools. Both teacher and dormitory aides help reduce the high student-adult ratio, which has always been a problem in the chronically overloaded facilities of Indian schools, without the need to employ more highly-trained staff. Because there is an essential similarity in the literature on aides, I have chosen to describe them as a whole: their training, uses, benefits, and deficiencies, with only passing reference to specific programs.

The uses of the teacher aide are innumerable. The aide frees the teacher from a number of time-consuming chores and allows him to do the work for which he is paid. Among other things, the aide can supervise housekeeping details, take attendance, keep records, organize materials needed for the day, put up bulletin board material, and grade papers. Having an aide halves the usual teacher-student ratio of 30-35:1 and allows more personalized teaching. This is especially important in small-group sessions, such as reading review and individual practice, where the aide can move freely around the class helping each student. In view of the shortage of teachers, the time saved is significant.[9]

Preferably, the teacher aide should be an Indian. The Indian aide can help the teacher overcome a number of cross-cultural problems. For children with limited fluency in English, the aide can translate answers for the teacher, clarify concepts, and point out comparisons in Indian culture. The teacher with middle-class values may make assumptions about the knowledge, skills, habits, and beliefs of the students which are invalid. The aide can help bridge the culture gap and alert the teacher to possible ways in which he may have erred. In the lower grades, the presence of an Indian aide may help re-assure children and lead to an acceptance of education. For older students, the aide in a position of authority provides a model of success.[10] The aide may also play a significant role in home and school relationships, acting as a liaison and resource person. For this function, it is important to ascertain that the aide is accepted by the community.[11]

Ideally, the teacher-teacher aide goal should be team-teaching. The teacher aide is too useful to be relegated to menial tasks only. Although they cannot be left on their own to teach, they can be used in the instructional program under the supervision of the teacher. The necessity for the aide and teacher to work together is a problem. At worst, both are forced on each other with no preparation. To remedy this, the roles of each should be

clearly defined beforehand, and in-service training is recommended to achieve maximum efficiency. A second problem is the need for the aide and teacher to "get along" with each other. An example of this was an elderly male Navaho aide who was reluctant to take directions from a much younger teacher. Aides should be chosen with this in mind.[12]

The BIA originally demanded two years of college education for their aides. Because of a lack of qualified candidates this proved unrealistic. High school graduates are preferred, but personal qualities such as dependability and an interest in children are equally important.[13] At Tuba City, aides were actively recruited from high school seniors who were not college-bound. They were given a 28-week training program which included nine weeks of in-service training and were paid during the course. Teacher aide courses are offered at several universities, and in-service training is also important in making up deficient qualifications. According to Hadley, a side-benefit of the program is that many teacher aides decide to continue their education and become teachers.[14]

Dormitory aides perform a number of functions in the out-of-class activities of students. Among other things, they can supervise dormitory housekeeping, help in guidance activities under the supervision of a counsellor, organize recreational activities such as clubs and craft classes, chaperone, chauffeur, supervise study, and act as resource people for teachers and guidance counsellors. Emphatically they are not work supervisors, disciplinarians or janitors. The BIA recommends beginning courses in guidance and counselling. Orientation classes and workshops are also used to train dormitory aides and include instruction in cultural characteristics, educational goals, and observation in the classroom.[15]

Mission, a school near the Rosebud Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, emphasizes the parental-substitute image of its dormitory aides. This is significant, as many of the children's parents had tended to ignore them and let them run loose. A "parent-aide" who cares about his work and well-being motivates the children to do well in school. The school has a policy of hiring reservation parents whenever possible. This has a double benefit of making the parents aware of the school and, frequently, of the need of their children for an education. In addition, it provides much needed jobs and provides a model of success for parents and children. The guidance supervisor points out: "Some of these children have never seen their dads go to work... Many cannot visualize what most take for granted".[16]

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X A PHILOSOPHY OF INDIAN EDUCATION

The two objectives of this report are to provide information for teachers of Indian students, and to discover a basic philosophy which leads to success or failure in Indian education. Because I have never seen the programs described, I do not think I can make statements which should be regarded as "absolute truth" by readers. I can only draw the conclusions that seem most important to me in reading the literature.

There is no one philosophy which guarantees success or failure in Indian education; rather, there are a number of factors, some more important than others, which contribute to a successful program. It is not necessary for a program to include all of these factors. Some programs, with limited goals, include only one or two; others may break the "rules" and still be successful; others which seem to have every hope of success may fail.

To quibble over a point, success depends on the terms in which it is defined. In this section, I have defined it as educating the Indians so that they become independent, self-sufficient, and able to function without conflict in both Anglo and Indian cultures. In total, I have listed eleven factors which seem necessary for success in educational programs. It should be remembered that my analysis reflects my biased definition of success.

1. The use of specialists, white or Indian, in at least the preliminary stages of designing and implementing a program.

That a program is honestly desired by the Indians, and initiated by them, is no guarantee that it will succeed. Inexperience in the complexities of financing, planning, and designing educational programs, as well as leadership and administrative problems, seem to call for a centralized leadership core of experts. However, these experts should have the specific aim of training the community so that it can carry on the program without them.

2. Community and parental involvement.

This has been discussed at great length in this paper.

3. Localization of the schools.

If community control over education is to come about, then the schools must be decentralized and located in the communities. At present, many Indian students attend boarding schools or public schools or live in

off-reservation dormitories. All of these are often many miles from their homes. It is no wonder that the community exerts little control over their education.

Localization of the schools would, hopefully, have the additional benefit of establishing a closer relationship between teachers and students, since both would be restricted to a small sphere of association. The teachers would be more able to visit the homes of the students and would have more incentive to participate in school-community and community activities. Since lack of teacher understanding is cited as a major problem, this would be beneficial.

4. Segregation of Indian schools.

This is a debatable point to make. At the beginning of this report, I discussed integration versus segregation. Personally, I feel that white stereotypes of the Indian are such that the Indian child is bound to suffer emotionally unless he is placed in an unusually sympathetic and hospitable school. In addition, if many of the programming suggestions in this report are to be put into effect, either segregated classrooms in an integrated school or segregated schools are required.

5. Flexibility and choice in methods of learning.

The differences in learning preferences between Anglos and Indians are described in several places in this report. McKinley et. al. pointed out (see p. 12) that Indian children prefer self-initiated, self-directed individual activities. Patterson (p. 29) noted that Indian children do not respond to a verbally-oriented lecture system. Egermeier and Davis (pp.43-44) found that the most successful aspect of the remedial reading program was its flexibility in scheduling and use of material. Silvaroli and Zuchowski (p. 30) noted that a unit topic approach in which students decided subject matter in conference with the teacher was most effective. Ungraded classrooms have also been cited as most successful in many programs, such as Talolah and Rough Rock.

These articles indicate that,if Indian children are to learn, they must have some control over the learning process. They do not respond well to rigid time and content programming. Teaching methods and subject matter should be geared to the students' preferences.

6. A strong motivational-inspirational component.

Why do Indian children not do well in school? The quality of the education program seems only part of the answer. Hill (pp 18-19) conducted a remedial reading program according to the best principles and yet had little success. Why? Part of the answer may be found in the fact that, by the end of the program, the children were being forced to attend by their parents. The problem was that they lacked the motivation to learn. Until this is provided, programs for the Indians will probably not be very successful. A motivational-inspirational component seems to me to be one of the

most important parts of a program's philosophy. Upward Bound and Project Awareness are two programs that supply this.

7. Curriculum relevant to the Indian.

Ideally, Indian culture, history, and language should form a part of the curriculum. This has several benefits. The curriculum concerns subjects which are a part of the students' actual experience; this helps to overcome the difficulties of Indian children learning subject matter which is totally meaningless and irrelevant to the life they lead. It provides pride and self-confidence. (The children have the experience of doing well at a subject because they already know something about it.) In this way, and because learning about their past is important for developing a sense of self-worth, it may provide motivation to learn (see Recommendation 6).

If Indian culture is taught in a way that relates it to white culture, the Indian students may understand both better. This will help them define their place and purpose in life. Their ambitions will then be based on a realistic understanding of what they want to take from both cultures. Hopefully, they will also be able to function better in white culture. Bryde's course in Acculturational Psychology is one way of doing this. (p. 13)

Failing Indian cultural studies, the curriculum should at least provide the experiences and information which the children are required to learn about and set into a conceptual framework. Learning by doing is the key to this. The Fort Thomas Diverse Capacity Project was designed to do this.

8. An emphasis on the communicative arts.

An emphasis on communicative arts rather than subject matter per se seems important. Reading and English are major problems for Indian children. Command of these is important. Smith and Marean discussed the importance of developing linguistic skills as a conceptual framework for other knowledge. (p. 17) Patterson (p. 28) points out that reading is the skill most frequently used in the classroom and suggests that grade placement should be based on reading level. The University of Montana stressed communication skills in its adult education program as most important to finding and maintaining a job. Other communication problems also occur. Salisbury (p. 51) notes that inhibition is a major factor in creating emotional problems. The Shoshone-Bannock tribes (p. 25), in a description of a two-week field trip, suggest role-playing and "acting-out" as a method of overcoming shyness and allowing students to express themselves.

This indicates that the communicative arts, English as a Second Language, reading, story-telling, and other forms of expression should be a major focus of programming. The rest of the curriculum, such as mathematics, social studies, and so on, should be geared to develop these skills.

9. The use of sympathetic staff, trained in dealing with the Indians, or Indians themselves.

Ideally, Indian educators should be Indians, capable of functioning in both cultures. Indians will probably have far more sympathy towards and understanding of the problems faced by Indian students than Anglos can ever have. That they should be able to function in both cultures is important: first, because they would have an understanding of Anglo culture and would be able to transmit understanding, rather than fear or hostility, to the students; secondly, because they can transmit the skills necessary to function in Anglo culture; thirdly, because they can provide a model of success. They show that it is possible for an Indian to function in Anglo culture.

However, failing Indian staff, educators should be carefully screened to ensure that they are sympathetic to Indian culture. Silvaroli and Zuchowski (p. 31) found that unless teachers were initially receptive, they seldom changed their attitudes. Educators should also possess extensive training in teaching across cultures.

10. Adequate funding.

11. Long-term commitment.

Adequate funding is necessary to provide the best facilities and teachers possible to overcome the educational disadvantages of the Indian student. Adequate funding is also necessary to ensure that a long-term commitment can be made. Unless programs last for years, they are unlikely to have ultimate success in improving the educational status of the Indian.

Final Comment on Indian Education

The powers that have a "vested interest" in the Indians should be working for the destruction of their involvement with them. This applies to the Department of Indian Affairs, the Anglo schools and Anglo teachers, "Indian specialists", professional scholars, and many others. The goal of Indian education should be to make the Indians independent and self-sufficient, not just to go on maintaining them at their present level, hoping for slight improvements. Radical change is necessary. This means withdrawing Anglo services as soon as the Indians feel they are ready for it. This does not mean withdrawing financial support; it only implies allowing the Indians full power in deciding their future. If Indians are to end their child-like relationship with external agencies, they must have the right to make their own mistakes, and win their own victories. They certainly cannot be any more wrong than the whites have been.

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Section B

INDIAN EDUCATION IN CANADA

(based on research done by
Roberta Jamieson)

INTRODUCTION

> In a period of twelve years, 8441 Indian students out of 8782 did not complete high school. Figures are not available which would specify the separate rates of retention and attrition. We are forced to use the gross figures which indicate there is a 94 per cent loss of school population between grades one and twelve. The national rate of drop-out for non-Indian students is approximately 12 per cent. [1]

This was the situation in Native education in 1966. Today, in Canada, it is still much the same. Perhaps by recounting the developments in Indian education in this period, we may be able to understand why the above statement is true; what has been done to remedy this situation; what has not been done; and what can and must be done in the future.

While it was impossible to outline in full the developments in Indian education in Canada in the time allotted for this project, it is hoped that the programs described are representative of all the changes being made. In several ways, the scope of this research has been limited. There were certain difficulties in researching Indian education in Canada. There is no central clearing house for information. Descriptions of many programs never reach the journals; therefore, interviews and correspondence were relied on to a large extent. Funds were not available for transportation across Canada to conduct interviews and first-hand field research, however, and correspondence was not an effective method of gathering data. Only 40 replies were received, out of 300 letters sent. As a result, the report concentrates on Ontario to a large extent.

The report is further limited to courses and projects which were designed specifically for Indians - with several exceptions. The E. D. Feehan High School project is designed to educate whites about Indians, as are University Native Studies programs. A series of recommendations is presented in conjunction with some problems encountered by Native peoples in the educational process.

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[1] Hawthorn, H. B. (ed.). A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada, vol. II. Ottawa: 1967, p. 130.

I ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PROGRAMS

1. University of Victoria Pre-School, Pre-Kindergarten, and Orientation Program[1]

Linguistic ability is crucial to scholastic achievement. Deutsch (1965) points out: "If language cannot be used as an elaborating form of communication, school loses much of its socializing and teaching capabilities, regardless of the curriculum content."[2] Linguistic difficulties are integrally related to the "cumulative learning deficit", a term which describes the process whereby success in school becomes progressively more difficult with age.

Language problems beset Indian children and are a major factor in their low levels of academic achievement. The extent of the problem is reflected in the following table, based on a study conducted on Indian school beginners in Canada in 1962.[3]

	Number of Pupils by Age					Approx. %
	5	6	7	8	Total	Total
No knowledge of English or French	245	693	280	84	1,302	25%
Understands some English or French	131	398	123	61	713	13%
Speaks some English or French	184	492	208	104	988	19%
Fairly fluent in English or French	356	728	246	92	1,422	30%
Fluent, only English or French spoken in home	168	414	80	38	700	13%
Total	1,084	2,725	937	379	5,125	100%

This table clearly illustrates the formidable handicap of Indian children. Fifty-seven per cent of school beginners, aged five to eight years, have limited fluency in French or English; twenty-five per cent speak no English or French at all. Deutsch (1965) argues that the all too minor adjustments made by schools in the area of reading readiness are completely unrealistic. Such children need saturation in language experience before entering school and during the early years.[4]

The University of Victoria, in British Columbia, sponsored a program to overcome this problem in 1968, in co-operation with the Department of Indian Affairs. Students were drawn from four reserves on Vancouver Island. The course consisted of a four-week summer program: a pre-school, pre-kindergarten, and orientation enrichment course for age groups three to four, five to six, and seven to thirteen years, respectively. The teaching staff included two professors from the University, a visiting lecturer who had had experience with the American "Head Start" program, and six teen-aged Indian girls as teaching aides.

Objectives for the program were delineated in the cognitive, affective, and psychomotor areas. Objectives in the cognitive area were: to increase the quality and quantity of verbalization patterns; to extend knowledge of the structure of the English language; to increase ability to comprehend and apply information; and to enable pupils to analyze, synthesize, and evaluate on the basis of information gained. In the affective area, the objectives were: to increase ability to receive and pay attention to relevant stimuli; to respond appropriately and effectively in specific situations; to encourage pupils to gain self-confidence and realize that they might be successful in school; and to develop an increasing awareness of and interest in books and reading. In the psychomotor area, the two main objectives were: to structure indoor and outdoor activities to refine perceptual skills and to increase proficiency in gross and fine motor abilities.

Additional objectives were:

(1) to gather and communicate relevant information about each child to the personnel in the regular school program;

(2) to provide practical experience to students enrolled in other related summer-session courses;

(3) to enable University faculty members to gain in practical field experience, to explore the parameters of instructional techniques for educationally unsuccessful children, and to evaluate theories and programs currently in the literature relevant to the education of such children;

(4) to gather material for use in helping student teachers relate theory to practice (television, tapes, tape-recorded samples of verbalization patterns, and slides were among the media used);

(5) to train teen-aged Indian aides to work successfully with young children in order to develop initiative and skill in caring for children at home;

(6) to enable teen-aged Indian girls to interact effectively with their white "significant others" (teachers).

The pre-kindergarten class was designed to encourage interest

and purposeful participation in a variety of activities,and the classroom was structured so as to offer a number of experiences. A science corner stimulated curiosity and awareness of the world. A variety of art experiences was offered, as well as a housekeeping corner where much verbal and social interaction took place. Water play was designed for children who lacked confidence to enter other activities. In each of these activities, extensive verbalization about their experiences was elicited. Initially, the children showed little or no interest in the library corner, but this trend was soon reversed. Story time, with the use of a flannel board and other media, helped. A short evaluation was held with each student at the end of each session.

The pre-school group was more diversified, as five had already had some school experience. Their wide range of previous experience necessitated planning on an individual basis to ensure that activities were challenging, but not too difficult. Of major concern was the method used to increase verbalization. A relaxed but methodically structured program was adopted. The classroom was structured so that all stimuli served a specific purpose. Teachers and aides circulated continually to encourage maximum verbalization from the children. If a child had difficulty, an example was given for imitation. A wide variety of verbal and counting games and songs were used, with success rewarded enthusiastically at all points. Individual attention and the requirement of verbalization were the main characteristics of the teaching techniques. Punitive measures were never employed, although no child was allowed to violate clearly established patterns of behaviour. Physical contact and positive social reinforcement were often used in this direction. After a short time, the children internalized the required social patterns to such an extent that they frequently controlled each other's behaviour.

The orientation group of seven- to thirteen-year-olds represented similar problems, but intensified. As a result of discussions with relevant school personnel, it was found that the children's major problem was a poor ability to handle information at any level other than simple memory, together with low self-esteem and a negative attitude towards school. Help was especially needed in language arts, specifically in perceiving reading as a source of enjoyment and information. Therefore, the problem was structured around two types of activity - individualized oral reading and "games" which would help the students to accumulate and process information. Individual oral reading was carried out with the attention of an aide. The children's initial reluctance to participate was overcome by the use of raisins, paired with positive social reinforcement. By the second week, however, the use of raisins as reinforcers was no longer necessary.

Evaluation of the program was both impressionistic and controlled. Success in the affective area was indicated by a mean increase in attendance - thirty-five in the first week, forty-three in the third; success in developing an interest in books and reading was indicated by the number of children voluntarily requesting stories, using books, and asking to take them home.

In the orientation program, students began volunteering to read by the second week, and success in reading became its own reinforcement. Growth in self-concept was seen in the numbers wanting to use the mirror and tape-recorder, as well as in decreasing shyness towards peers and adults.

An improvement in speech was seen in the quantity and quality of the students' verbal repertoire. The increase in sophistication of the students' vocabulary level was so great that it could not be detected by a teacher using only the controlled vocabulary of a reader. Most significant were the improvements in language patterns. In pre- and post-test measures of this, it was found that, in all areas where a certain linguistic structure had been taught, significant improvement occurred. When no specific objective had been formulated, little improvement occurred. This finding is highly significant for the Teaching of English as a Second Language, as it points up the need for careful planning of program objectives in order to achieve the desired improvement. In the other areas, such as psychomotor activity, information processing, and problem-solving, noticeable improvements occurred, but these were evaluated in a more subjective way.

One of the most successful aspects of the project was the teen-age Indian aide program. The aides moved from being quiet and marginally involved to being enthusiastic and committed, an essential part of the program. Their attendance was 98.8 per cent, despite the fact that they received only a small honorarium for their work. The aides acted as a liaison between teachers and students and reduced the teaching load significantly. They carried out such structured teaching tasks as were required of them competently and acted as important resources for information about the children's out-of-school life. The implications are apparent: despite their limited experience, aides can be effectively used with a short period of on-the-job training; without being paraprofessionals, aides can contribute significantly to a program, while benefitting from it themselves.

2. The Initial Teaching Alphabet (i.t.a.)* and Indian Children

Second among the programs designed to overcome the linguistic and learning difficulties of Indian children is i.t.a., the Initial Teaching Alphabet. The i.t.a. was first developed by Sir James Pitman in England and refers to a simplified alphabet which eases the transition to written language by providing a more consistent written code than the traditional alphabet. The symbols of i.t.a. approximate the phonemes of English, but each of the 44 symbols refers to one sound only. Once the child has learned to read and write in i.t.a., he may make the transition to more traditional orthography, usually after a year. Research in England and the United States shows that children who start on i.t.a. score significantly higher on standardized reading tests than do children who learned to read and write according to

*Since the initial teaching alphabet has no capital letters, it is commonly abbreviated as i.t.a.

more traditional methods. Some of the further benefits of i. t. a. are mentioned below.

Mrs. Jean Lundskog, a teacher in Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan, tried i. t. a. after a short training course in its principles. Her class consisted of 11 Métis and 14 white grade one pupils. The year was begun with normal instruction in reading readiness skills; then, sight words, written in i. t. a. script, were presented in a pattern of "sound, say, read, print". Two series of readers in i. t. a. were used, the simpler of the two being for the low-average pupils who experienced more difficulty, in order to give them encouragement through success. Once the child had learned the symbols and how to blend them, independent reading and word attack was simplified. New vocabulary was introduced more as a check on comprehension than on word recognition, but much of the reading was self-teaching. It was found that i. t. a. made possible a wider range of vocabulary, so that the children could read a greater selection of more interesting stories. After a few weeks, children were freely borrowing books from the library. Creative writing was also freer and concentration less interrupted as students could write whatever vocabulary was chosen. Reading and writing were sound-based and controlled by limited letters rather than limited reading vocabulary or writing experience. (As Philion and Galloway pointed out, Indian children often rely more on word memorization and recognition than on actual comprehension. This method frees the children for the task of comprehension.)[5]

An important side-benefit of i. t. a. is that it contains a built-in diagnostic system. Through the pupil's writing, the teacher can spot the sounds that the pupil does not hear or differentiate in oral speech. An example shows this clearly.

win	it	is	kced	or	widee	bot	win	it	is	shonshieŋ
when	it	is	cold	or	windy	but	when	it	is	sunshining

Several questions surround the use of i. t. a. with Indian and Eskimo children. Will an i. t. a. program help Native children to hear and respond accurately to the sounds of English? Oral English will still have to be taught, but where this is done, does i. t. a. help in the process through eliminating the confusions of English spelling? Since the use of i. t. a. frees students and teachers from the limited vocabulary necessary in other programs, does it leave the way open for a fuller use of pupils' experience, both in reading materials and in motivation for written communication? Thorough research on these questions has yet to be done; however, if the answer to any of these questions is affirmative, i. t. a. will be shown to have definite value in teaching Native children.[6]

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1 Unless otherwise noted, this section was taken from C. Galloway, M. Mickelson, and D. Burchfield, Orientation, Pre-school and Pre-kindergarten Summer Programme for Indian Children, Victoria, B. C.: 1968.

2 Deutsch, Martin. "The role of social class in language development and cognition", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXXV, pp. 78-83, January, 1965, cited in Galloway, Michelson & Burchfield. Orientation... 1968, p. 1.

3 The Education of Indian Children in Canada. A Symposium... Toronto: 1965, p. 76.

4 Deutsch. op. cit., p. 1.

5 Philion, W. L. E., and C. G. Galloway. Indian Children and the Reading Program, Victoria, B.C., 1968, p. 7.

6 Soveran, M. "i. t. a. and the Indian classroom", Northian, II (5), 1965, pp. 15-22.

II SECONDARY SCHOOL PROGRAMS

1. E. D. Feehan High School

For the 1967-68 school year, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics revealed that 3.6 per cent of treaty Indian students in Saskatchewan reached grade 12, compared to 18.1 per cent for the total student population in the province. Somewhere, a great number were either dropping out or going into one of the numerous vocational or service trades without entering grade 12. Of the many studies done on this problem, several concluded that the high failure rate was partially due to the inability of the Indian to identify himself with the educational system and the larger society.

In September, 1969, the Social Sciences Department of the E. D. Feehan High School in Saskatchewan instituted a course in Indian History and Culture at the grade 10 level. The course was planned with the co-operation of the Indian and Northern Curriculum Resources Centre at the University of Saskatchewan and was administered by the high school, but financed extensively by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Eight thousand dollars was granted, of which $1,500 was allotted to pay the salary of a part-time teacher of Indian ancestry. This teacher taught the first semester but was replaced by a non-Indian in the middle of the second semester.

The course was designed to provide understanding and awareness of the dynamics of aboriginal cultural development, from both the Indian and the white viewpoint, as well as to explore significant modern issues. Additional objectives were to develop self-identification and pride in their heritage among Indian and Métis students and also to help students realize that they need not reject their past to fit into mainstream society. For white students, the major objective was to inculcate in them a positive attitude towards their Indian and Métis peers, through showing them the contributions made by Native people towards present-day society. It was intended, in addition, to develop greater awareness and appreciation of minority groups of any origin in all students.

Actual course content included the pre-contact history and distribution of Indian groups; the period from European contact to the signing of the treaties; and contemporary issues such as treaties and treaty rights, reserves, Indian administration and Native organizations.

A wide variety of teaching techniques was used: group discussions; contract work; individual and group study and reports; audio-visual materials. Field trips included a visit to the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians where a number of guests were invited to speak to the class.

The course was evaluated by a set of questionnaires measuring authoritarianism, anti-Semitism, anti-Indianism, dogmatism, aggression, study habits and attitudes, and other variables. Pre- and post-course measures were obtained on each item. Forty-six grade 10, 11, and 12 students enrolled in the course: 29 in the first semester and 21 in the second. There were 12 Indians and 17 non-Indians in the first semester, and 5 Indians and 12 non-Indians in the second. Complete data were obtained on 7 Indians and 26 non-Indians.

For Indian students, perception of mother, father, self, and how the teacher perceives him were shown to be important in determining whether or not the student completed the course. Perception of the father and the student's perception of how the teacher sees him and how the father sees him were shown to be important in determining his attitude towards himself. Generally, the more favourable these impressions were, the more favourable the attitude was towards oneself, and the greater the likelihood was of completing the course and obtaining a high grade.

Analysis of variance of pre- and post-course scores showed that the course had the effect of producing positive changes in students with regard to perception of oneself, the student's perception of how the teacher sees him, perception of the mother and father, and the student's perception of how the father sees him.

In addition, Indians became more willing to accept persons from other national groups into a closer relationship, and there were indications that they had become less rigid, more flexible, more willing to venture out into the world, and more aware of the need for more education after having taken the Indian history and culture course.

The effect of the change from a Native to a non-Native teacher could not be adequately answered on the basis of the data, although the evidence suggested that there was no effect. The high drop-out rate was particularly disturbing. It was hypothesized that it was those students who disapproved of the cross-cultural relationships explored and the conclusions drawn who dropped out along the way.

Staff recommendations for the future of the course included the conclusion that the course should continue, but with more emphasis on the contribution of the Indian to North American culture. Moreover, there should be close liaison between Indian organizations and the school, which would hopefully culminate in a representative committee to obtain speakers and resources. In addition, a text should be compiled to develop the concepts of the course in a readable manner, as most of the reading material available was above the high school level.

The Branman Association conducted the evaluation. It proposed that Indian history and culture courses be seriously considered in all schools attended by Indians and that the effects of the teacher's race be systematically explored. The Association proposed that serious consideration be given to providing male teachers or guidance counsellors to act as surrogate fathers in situations where the student's home life is less than

desirable. It also recommended the introduction of regular counselling, perhaps in the form of sensitivity training groups, to monitor the student's family and teacher relationships. [1]

2. Manitoulin Secondary School

The program at Manitoulin Secondary School is designed to attack three major interrelated problems in Indian education. Cultural alienation - an inability to find anything relevant to their previous experiences in the school experience - is frequently cited as a major factor in the drop-out rates of Indian students. [2] On the other hand, a lack of knowledge about their culture is also often characteristic of semi-acculturated modern Indian students [3] and can lead to a lack of self-pride and disinterest in education. Secondly, the integration of Indians and non-Indians in the same school is now an established trend. Discrimination on both sides and feelings of inferiority on the part of Indian students can result, partly because of a lack of cultural understanding. Thirdly, the Indian language is quickly being lost, as there are progressively fewer children who speak only this language. Indian children are exposed to media and outside influences in which English or French is the chief language used. [4] At one point, many Indian children were sent to residential schools where use of the native tongue was forbidden. At its worst, this situation has led to children who speak neither English nor a native language fluently and whose intellectual development is seriously hampered by the lack of an adequate linguistic framework. Complicating this problem is the fact that the Indian languages are rapidly being lost.

The program in Manitoulin Secondary School offers a course in Indian culture and a course in Ojibway language. These course are designed to break down the barriers of racial misunderstanding between Indian and non-Indian students and to help the Indian student re-live his cultural heritage. The Indian people of the community, the students, Department of Indian Affairs personnel, and Dr. Newbury of the Indian Studies Department of Laurentian University were consulted in designing the course. At the special request of the Indian people, it was decided that the course should not be primarily concerned with Indian history, but should attempt to answer the questions "Who are we?" and "Where are we going?" These objectives are the primary focus of the program. [5]

Manitoulin Secondary School is situated on Manitoulin Island in Northern Ontario. The school serves a number of Indian reserves and other communities. In general, the area is economically deprived. In 1970-71, the school had an enrolment of approximately 800, of whom 150 were Indian. In 1971-72, this ratio had increased significantly, as 275 of the 890 students were Indian.

A one-year course in Ojibway language was taught in Year Two, and a one-year course in Indian culture in Year Three. Both of the courses are open to students from all levels in order to attract as many students as possible. In 1972-73, the school plans to offer three language classes

because of the popularity of the course: one year for beginners; a second for those with a working knowledge of Ojibway; and a third year for advanced students. The language course had 20 students, of whom seven were non-Indian. The culture course had seven non-Indians out of a total enrolment of 30. [7]

The courses are administered by the History department of the school and taught by Mrs. Fox, an Ojibway Indian who is fluent in the language. Negotiations are under way to obtain two counsellor aides to work with the Indian students.

The Ojibway language course is intended to provide students with a working knowledge of the language. Ojibway grammar, syntax, and vocabulary are taught. Texts, tapes of Indian legends spoken in Ojibway, exercises, and a dictionary of the language are used to increase the students' understanding. Cultural objectives of the course are (1) to enable students to see the relationship between the language and Indian studies which are taught at a higher level; (2) to establish knowledge of the fact that reading and writing the Indian language is one way of preserving culture; and (3) to enable the students to appreciate the beauty of the language. [8]

The aim of the Indian culture course is to explore the past and present issues of Indian life. It is also designed to develop critical understanding and historical perspective as well as to acquire knowledge. A multi-media approach is used, and a number of questions are explored, such as "Who are Amerindians?" "What is racism?" "Does cultural conflict exist?" The Manitoulin experience is used as a case study, and the future of the Indian is explored. The course attempts to avoid the meaningless antiquarianism of focussing on sensational yet relatively unimportant cultural detail. Careful cross-cultural analysis and a concern for teaching generalizations through logical enquiry should help to provide an antidote for ethnocentricism. The aim is to hold a mirror up to culture in order to study its norms and characteristics but not to ask the question, "Mirror, mirror on the wall, which is the fairest culture of them all?" which is a question seeking ethnocentric reinforcement. [9]

At this point, it is not possible to determine whether the courses have improved the overall scholastic performance of the students, as hypothesized, through reducing their cultural alienation from the school, nor is it possible to determine whether they will have a significant impact on the student's future. The drop-out rate has been minimal, however, and the students are doing well, mainly because they are interested in their work. Indeed, the courses may have some impact on plans for the future, as one student has already decided to become a counsellor for Indian people as she has discovered that there is a need for people in this field. [10]

3. The Lakehead Board of Education "Package Program"

Background

The Lakehead Board of Education "Package Program" was established in

1968, under the sponsorship of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development with the co-operation of the Lakehead Board of Education. The agreement authorized the Lakehead Board to provide total "in-school" and "out-of-school" services to treaty Indian students attending secondary schools in the Board's jurisdiction. The original premise of the "Package" concept was to provide a comprehensive range of services to the student under a single jurisdiction. The program allowed a board to provide a wide range of regular and tailor-made educational programs. It permitted greater mobility in the school system so that students could transfer readily throughout the system to make maximum use of the facilities.

Students from 13 to 20 years of age were chosen from reserves in northwestern Ontario. In the first year of the program, students appear to have been chosen at random. By the second year of the program, however, greater communication had been established with the reserves, and each student was to be approved by the school committee on each reserve. Enrolment statistics for the first three years of the program and a projection for the fourth year are:

1968 - 116
1969 - 181
1970 - 285
1971 - 427 (estimate)

Out-of-School Programs

As part of the total program, which was under the direction of James Smithers of the Lakehead Board, students were provided with housing, recreational opportunities, and living allowances. Most students were placed in local homes in Thunder Bay. Students were expected to conform to the rules of the household, while landladies were expected to act like foster mothers. Attempts were made to inform both students and landladies of the differing cultures and general habits of each. Fourteen Indian girls were accommodated by the Centennial Residence in Fort William which is operated by the Arrowhead Foundation. In the second year of the program, two small groups of students were allowed to live independently in apartments. One of these situations terminated "naturally", while the other was stopped by authorities after the three students involved missed six out of ten days of school once they had moved into their apartment.

Living allowances and expense money were under the control of the Lakehead Board and apparently, in most cases, under strict supervision. First-year students were required to charge all purchases and could only shop under staff supervision. Presumably (this is implied in the reports), rents were paid directly to the landladies. A voluntary honour system was established for grade 11 and 12 students; that is, students could participate in the system if they so desired. Students were given $120 each month and were personally responsible for room, board, clothing, personal allowances, school equipment and supplies, transportation costs, etc. Students were

required to provide the authorities with receipts for rent. Those not on the system were issued with a cheque to cover clothing expenses and were required to provide a receipt for purchases.

Attempts were made to provide recreational facilities and activities for the students. New students were unaware of the various public organizations and facilities available to them and were unable to take advantage of them due to a lack of skills. Many students tended to spend much of their free time in less reputable parts of the city, much to the displeasure of school authorities. Sports nights were held weekly, consisting of floor hockey at first and later basketball, as the students became familiar with the game. For a while, activity nights were also held dealing with such topics as Indian languages, syllabics, Indian history and culture, sewing, arts and crafts, music, and sex education. Insufficient funds led to the cancellation of this activity.

Recreational and social activities were organized for the many students who stayed in Thunder Bay during the Christmas and Easter vacation periods. These included such activities as skating, dancing, bowling, tobogganing, sleigh riding, movies, square dancing, and bus trips.

Courses Offered

(1) Pre-Orientation Courses

The pre-orientation course was for all new students and began two weeks prior to regular classes. It was designed to facilitate the orderly assimilation of new students into regular school operations and allow the staff sufficient time to assist them in adjusting to and coping with their new home and school environments. The staff for this course included six teachers, five senior Indian students, and 12 senior high school students. The course covered familiarization with:

(a) the city and its facilities such as bus routes, shopping areas, recreational facilities, banks, and libraries by means of visits;
(b) shopping services, cheque cashing, and the use of money;
(c) schools and school routines such as class movement, fire drills, lockers, locks, and washrooms. Dry runs were made in coming to school and going home by foot and bus, phoning in sick, and calling the landlady from school.

Discussions were held on the problems of living in someone else's home and the "kinds of problems that could develop from hanging around downtown at night and on weekends". Landladies also attended meetings with staff and experienced landladies to exchange information.

Orientation Class

All first-year students were placed in orientation classes. The first year was

designed primarily as a time of adjustment and remedial activities, not as a year of regular academic progress. Orientation students spent a half-day in a regular grade nine class and the other half in a class with a special teacher. Classes were different in character depending on the teacher. A description of the class conducted by Mr. Kenneth Crowhurst follows: The class was made up of the older boys in the orientation class. In the morning, they took regular grade nine shop for two periods and a mixture of English, History, and Geography for two periods. They spent the afternoon as a single class unit with Mr. Crowhurst, studying such topics as hunter safety, first aid, forest protection and management, and prospecting. Mr. Crowhurst supervised Physical Education classes and conducted field trips to such places as the Abitibi bush camp.

Natural Resource Technology Class

This class was conducted for students in grades 11 and 12 as an integrated shop option in the four-year Science, Trades, and Technology course. It was designed to provide a wide range of practical experience in the areas of forestry and geology.

The Resource Industry Employment Program

The program was designed for those persons who are unable to adjust to city life and plan to return to the reserve. Students constructed and ran a prospector's tent camp and did prospecting. Attempts were made to develop positive attitudes towards employment in an area where there are jobs.

The Outer Program

The Outer Program was an extra-curricular program offered by the Lakehead Board of Education in cross-country hiking, snowshoe trips, and canoeing. It was designed to "challenge the mind as well as the muscles".

The Car Driver Training Program

This program was sponsored by the Lakehead Board. Classes were held twice weekly in the evening.

The Junior Ranger Program

The Junior Ranger Program was designed to cope with the need to ease the transition from reserve to city life. It was a response to a need for programs based on an environment which was familiar and meaningful to Indian students. There was a need to develop occupational skills that were realistic in terms of the areas of employment for Indians; there was also a need to develop social, recreational, and cultural attitudes and skills to enable Indian students to cope

with the urban environment.

Staff

There was a staff of 20 directly responsible for the "Package Program" during the 1970-71 school year. Four of the 20 were Native Canadians.

Evaluation

An evaluation of the Lakehead Board of Education "Package Program" is a difficult task because there were so many programs. Some seemed to be very successful while others were less so. Moreover, the program faced a large number of very difficult problems, some of which will be dealt with below. Ultimately, perhaps it could be concluded that the program failed simply because it failed to perpetuate itself. The program was terminated after the 1971-72 school year by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Smithers wrote:

> The Package Program was terminated because it cost a lot more than regular Branch involvement and we had no great claim to success in the drop-out rate area. The Branch was concerned about bad press from many sources and we said they could do it themselves as it was a lot of work for us.

One of the obvious causes of discontent was the apparent attempt to anglicize the Indian students. In his first report, Smithers noted the lack of direction from "official sources" and the lack of communication with the Indians involved. As a result, he said that "all we can successfully do is to: provide the students...with the social and educational tools necessary to adjust to, and be comfortable in, our urban environment". In his second report,Smithers stated that:

> Our goals for the students are not necessarily the ones they want, and we are having difficulty in compromising our white middle class sense of achievement values.

Smithers argued that Indians ought not to be placed in separate school systems. He said that "I personally feel that our job is to have them be Canadians first and Indians second". In reply to criticism that Indian culture would be lost, he charged:

> It's about time the Indians, in general, stopped complaining and started doing something positive if the perpetuation of their culture is really that

important.

Another reason for termination of the program was the lack of success it had in returning its students. In the first year of the program, 23.6 per cent dropped out, while in the second year 27.6 per cent dropped out. By comparison, the drop-out rate among city students is 7 to 14 per cent, depending upon the type of program. Moreover, Smithers estimated that only 6 per cent of the students will graduate. While there was some attempt to rationalize these figures, no solution to the problem was found. Smithers wrote:

> The reasons are many and complex and while alternative programs will help, little insight into the root causes of the problems is available at this time.

It would appear that the program became visible to the public in a highly negative way. For example, with regard to sports nights, Smithers reported that:

> Periodically, the pot would boil over (glue, drinking, fighting, etc.) and we would tighten up or close down for a night. It would be unfair, almost impossible, to restrict the activities to our students only and in the end was found an adequate but expensive solution. (sic) An off duty policeman was hired for a night.

Smithers' report also indicated that there was less than adequate success in keeping students occupied after school. Both he and the staff tried to keep students from the less respectable parts of town, but they were not always successful. Mary Evans, a teacher-counsellor in the program, reported that:

> At present, half our work is being destroyed overnight while idle students spend their time on street corners.

Reports of student misconduct reached the reserves in what appears to be magnified form. It was not until the second year of the program that effective communications were established. In the second year, the staff involved with the program visited the reserves to meet with the parents. Still, Smithers reported:

> ... in some areas we have been expected to

> enforce rules of conduct, etc., that are really unenforceable here (in the city) and we are quite sure not enforced at home. If someone wants to stay out all night, there is really not much we can do about it at 2:30 in the morning.

Smithers said there was a need for professional counselling 24 hours per day or else the program would lose much of its effect.

One of the most successful programs offered was the orientation program. The program was designed to introduce students to city and school life. The following is a report on the program submitted by Mr. Kenneth Crowhurst, a teacher directly involved with the program.

> The Orientation Program has been successful to date because of the following reasons:
>
> (1) It is communal in approach to education. Indians are probably the best example of 'togetherness' in the world today. This program offers this togetherness from which they can integrate into other streams of education when they feel ready.
>
> (2) As groups they are experiencing the importance of time in a school system.
>
> (3) They are feeling the effect of someone really looking after their needs, who cares about themselves and their futures.
>
> (4) The program has succeeded in a few short months of overcoming the shyness of the students.
>
> (5) At this time, they are acquiring the ability to express their thoughts in English instead of Cree. For the first month, they spoke amongst themselves in Cree only.
>
> (6) In conversation with the young Indian people - they have all expressed a liking for the program. There has not been one case of criticism against the program.
>
> (7) The aim of the afternoon program has been:
>
> (a) to have the Indian express himself both orally and in writing
> (b) to increase their knowledge of Arithmetic,

Spelling etc.
(c) to teach them subjects which are useful in that they can be used regardless of how high the youth climbs up the education ladder.

Subjects as:

(1) St. John's Ambulance
(2) Forest Protection
(3) Aereal photograph interpretation
(4) Knots and splices
(5) Compassing
(6) Mineral identification and staking claims
(7) Fish net and boat repair (plastics)

There is no field of education which can offer to a young Indian more useful subjects.

The program has been in existence too short a time to eulogize it too much. All I know is when an Indian says it's "good" then we are on the right track.

(8) The gym classes and sports nite have been a very important part of our success so far.

(9) The most serious problems have been in the areas of money management and too much time on their hands evenings and week-ends.

One of the most serious problems of the Program was the conflict which developed between the treaty and unsponsored Indians in the community. Smithers reported:

> Bad feeling exists in the schools, out of school, on the streets, at sports night and almost everywhere you go. We are naturally quite aggressive in providing the best possible assistance for "ours" and this makes those less advantaged somewhat jealous.

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[6] ibid.

[7] ibid.

[8] Ojibway language, Grade 10, Years 1970-71.

[9] Clark, R. J. "AmerIndian Studies: a Cultural Approach", Manitoulin Secondary School, 1970-71, unpublished manuscript.

[10] Weterings, J. M. personal communications.

[11] This section is taken from J. P. Smithers, Indian Education Interim Report #1, October 25, 1969 and Interim Report #2, July 3, 1970, mimeographed.

III POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

1. Dalhousie University Transition Year Program (TYP)

Few Indians reach the point in their education at which they go on to university or some form of post-secondary education. In 1968-69, there were 62,834 Indian students in federal and non-federal primary and secondary schools. There were, however, only 293 Indian students in post-secondary institutions.[1] The majority drop out before completing high school or are streamed into technical and vocational courses.

The reasons for this situation are not always clear. They are the result of a number of factors, having little to do with actual potential. However, the social and economic costs of the "underachieving minority" are great - for the individual, for the group which he represents, and for society as a whole.[2]

In the last few years, adult education courses have been giving these people a chance to continue their education. (See, for example, Ray Collins Indian Education Centre, page 129). Until recently, however, few universities and colleges acknowledged the needs of these people and made provision for them within the traditional structure. Such students do not meet the traditional scholastic requirements for university entrance. Often, too, their academic and study skills do not prepare them for the demands of university.

The Transition Year Program at Dalhousie University represents an attempt to provide a "bridge" for these people, thereby facilitating their entrance into university. Further objectives of the program are the eventual development of a corps of trained individuals with leadership potential; a model program for other universities in the Maritime provinces; an awareness on the part of white students of the problems of minorities; and, a demonstration of the university's concern for members of the community it serves. The ideology which this represents is contained in the following passage:

> In the 1970's, a student body which does not represent all facets of the society in which the university exists is an unacceptable anachronism. The cultures from which our Transition Year Program students come are a part of the society in which all our students will live. To isolate students from society is no longer a function of the university.[3]

The course was financed by provincial grants, by the federal government through the Departments of Indian Affairs and Manpower and Citizenship, and by private donations. Total expenditure equalled $90, 220, of which $27, 270 was for salaries, $52, 905 was for disbursements to students, and the rest for other expenses.[4] The program is a pre-university course in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences and is not linked with any other university courses, such as an Indian Studies program. Most of the teaching was done by university faculty, under the direction of Dr. P. D. Pillay.[5]

In the first year of operation, the TYP enrolled 22 Black and Indian students (6 Indian and 16 Black). In the second year - September, 1971 to June, 1972 - 23 students were enrolled.[6] Enrolment was limited to students between the ages of 17 and 24, as it was felt that students under 17 would not be mature enough to benefit from the program and students over 25 are accommodated by a program of the provincial department of education. Students were chosen on the basis of what was judged to be their potential success. Detailed application forms and a battery of tests designed to measure such things as numerical ability, creativity, etc. were used.

The curriculum was not designed to be a "crash" high school academic course. The aim was to produce students with sufficient study skills to compensate for any gaps in factual knowledge.[7] Communication skills and history were stressed (4. 5 and 4 hours a week respectively) with mathematics, science, music, and community skills also offered (2 hours a week each).

In the classes on communication skills, the purpose was to bring the students' writing, reading, and speaking skills to a point where they would have enough command of standard English to allow them to function successfully in freshman university courses. Students used controlled readers, "a Flash X program", study skills library, graded supplementary reading materials, and a skimming and scanning program.

Mathematics made use of programmed materials; however, several students did not have sufficient background even to start on the course, and others progressed only slowly. Many did not complete the essential pre-university mathematics in one year.

History emphasized information retrieval and familiarity with historical literature, analysis, interpretation, and self-expression. The content of the course was used as a vehicle for teaching these skills. It was felt that teaching Black and Indian history would provide interest and motivation to learn, as well as helping to overcome feelings of inferiority. Problems noted were the inability or unwillingness of students to read; difficulty experienced in keeping discussions going on specified topics; and the inability of students to take adequate notes during lectures. Nevertheless, these problems should be surmounted as the necessary skills become more familiar.

Science involved a brief overview of basic sciences. Music concentrated on the history and development of the Blues.[8]

As the program was in part a pilot program, a number of problems were encountered and recommendations for improvement made. The policy of selecting any student who met the age and ethnic requirements was found wanting; some minimum level of achievement had to be established. Several of the students had backgrounds so inadequate as to make success impossible. The casual timekeeping habits of the students and the need for staff to serve in loco parentis were other problems. Ideally, the fewer distinctions made between TYP students and regular university students, the easier it would be for Transition Year students to make the transition to the regular university program. Nevertheless, the staff would still need to cope with problems that were parental in nature.[9]

In all, 14 students out of 22 in the first year of the program were recommended for univerity entrance as first year undergraduates in a three-year B.A. degree course. One student was held in the TYP for a second year, and two students dropped out.[10] The Transition Year Program seems a valuable one. As it undergoes modification and improvement, it may well prove to be a model program for other universities to study and put into effect.

2. Trent University Indian Studies

The main objective of Indian-Eskimo Studies programs is to attempt to bridge the gap between Native and non-Native communities, a gap which is based on a lack of knowledge and understanding of each other. An additional reason for establishing such programs is the lack of Indian students in universities.

An Indian Studies program offers a subject which is of immediate concern to the Indian, thus helping to reduce the alienation the Indian feels towards a white man's education. Even for Indian students planning to major in other fields, the Indian Studies program has much to offer in the way of information which can be helpful in his own personal adjustment or in work for his people, if he chooses such a career.

The program at Trent University in Ontario is the most well-known Indian Studies program in Canada. Begun in 1969, it has grown considerably from one to six courses. These courses cover the past and present anthropology and history of the Native, as well as focussing on current problems of law, regional development, politics, economics, and Indian identity. Courses are based mainly on lectures and seminars, supplemented by field work. Supplementing the formal course curriculum is a student Native Association. In this informal club-like setting, Native and white students can meet freely, to the benefit of both.

The program is taught by a staff of six, under the direction of Harvey McCue. Four of the courses are taught by Natives. The program is financed by the University. A $5,000 grant was received from the Atkinson Foundation for the library, and $15,000 was given by the office of the Provincial Secretary to bring in Indian resource lecturers. In 1971,

the program received a $202,500 grant from the Donner Foundation.[11]

Special orientation and recruiting activities are carried out every year prior to registration in order to increase the enrolment of Native students. Course descriptions are distributed to all guidance outlets, as well as to all Indian Affairs' offices, Indian organizations and band councils. The following table shows the figures on enrolment.

Session	Total Enrolment in Indian-Eskimo Studies	Number of Natives Enrolled
1969-70	30	6
1970-71	74	10

In 1969, six Natives enrolled, and in 1970, 10. There were no Indian drop-outs from the course; therefore, total enrolment of Natives was 16, or 15.4 per cent. All Native students were from Ontario.

The Trent Indian Studies program serves not only its students, but also the surrounding Native communities. The university is located near six southern Ontario reserves. People from these reserves are used as resource personnel in seminars and are also allowed to attend the seminars as students. In addition, the university provides paper and facilities for the surrounding reserves to publish their own newsletters. The relationship between the university and the surrounding Indian communities is maintained on an informal basis, as it is felt that this allows more freedom and opportunity for innovation than a structured relationship.

The three-year course leads to a B.A. in Indian Studies. It is too soon to evaluate the potential impact that graduates of this course will have on society. Nonetheless, the fact that there have been no drop-outs from the program, in addition to the rapid growth of the program in both student enrolment and number of courses offered, indicates some measure of success for it.

3. Overview of Teacher Training Programs

Far more common than Indian Studies programs designed for Native students are programs for teachers of Indian students. The number of these programs reflects the growing recognition that Indian students are culturally different and that special techniques are required to educate them well. This is certainly a welcome and long-overdue development. The following is a brief overview of some other programs in universities and colleges which are helping to fill the educational needs of Indians and those working with them.

The College of Education of the University of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon offers two degree programs for teachers of Indian students. The first is a B.Ed. program for teachers in Indian and Northern communities. A series of courses within the undergraduate degree program in Education

for elementary school teachers has been developed for people who plan to teach in these areas. The second is an M. Ed. program which is open to all those who have taken the B. Ed. program in Indian education, as well as at least one course in anthropology.

Beginning in June, 1970, the University of British Columbia offered a credit course in Indian education in the Faculty of Education. Among the topics covered are the historical background and contemporary situation of Indians; the attitudes towards education on the part of Indian parents; the policies of the provincial Department of Education and the Department of Indian Affairs; and language arts and problems arising from language.

At Althouse College of Education at the University of Western Ontario, a special program in intercultural education is offered.

At the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, a course in "Northern Education" is offered as part of a two-year teacher training program. A full year of five courses is also offered as part of a Bachelor of Pedagogy or Bachelor of Education program.

Courses such as Teaching English as a Second Language and Curriculum Development for Indian and Métis children are offered.[12]

These are only a few of the programs offered, but they serve to indicate the growing trend in this direction. The need for such programs is certainly there.

4. Ray Collins Indian Education Centre

Although an effort has been made to educate Indians since before the time of Confederation, only recently have educational opportunities become universal. Many Indian adults have had few, if any, years of schooling. A preliminary survey conducted by the Department of Indian Affairs found that, on approximately 50 per cent of all Indian reserves, over 25 per cent of the adult population was either illiterate or semi-illiterate.[13] In many cases, literacy and basic education are fundamental requirements for finding and maintaining a job; therefore, lack of education is a major factor in "locking-in" many Indians on the reserves, and also in the depressed economic situation on the reserves.

A number of opportunities exist for adult Indians to upgrade their educational and job skills. The Department of Indian Affairs conducts such programs, as do Canada Manpower and other agencies. Since 1958, both enrolment and the number of programs offered has increased significantly; in the case of enrolment, from 798 in 1958 to 3,482 in 1964. Some courses are fairly specialized, such as courses in leadership training, agriculture or home economics;[14] others, however, concentrate on the problem of general education and pre-job skills, on the assumption that functional literacy is the prerequisite of social and economic development. The program at Ray Collins Indian Education Centre is a highly successful example of the latter type.

The Ray Collins Indian Education Centre is located in downtown

Vancouver, B. C., in two rooms of an office building. The Centre was opened three years ago, at the request of the Indian people, and is still in operation. It is funded by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, which also pays educational allowances for the students, as well as the costs of books, materials, school equipment, and teachers' salaries. The Centre is one of the few schools in Canada which offers Adult Basic Education at the elementary level from grades one to eight on a full, day-time basis. Students represent a wide variation in age; most are under thirty-five, but a few are nearing fifty. In general, only about fourteen students are registered at any one time, although up to twenty have been accepted on occasion. The average length of attendance is three months, after which time the student completes his basic education and is ready to go on to another institution.

Almost all teaching and administration are carried out by Mr. Ray Collins, a former travelling supervisor of adult Indian education for the Department of Indian Affairs. When that position was discontinued, the Indian people requested that he be retained to work with them and, as a result, the school was started. In addition to Mr. Collins, Department of Indian Affairs' personnel help with administration and act as resource personnel. Extensive use is also made of guest speakers in a wide range of educational, vocational, and social science disciplines.

The major educational concerns are developmental, diagnostic, and remedial reading, writing, speaking, and mathematical skills, all of which are related to experience and future job requirements. Flexibility and informality are the key to programming. Students are allowed to progress at their own rate, and varying proficiencies in different subject areas are accommodated. Courses and goals, both immediate and long-term, are developed individually for each student. So too, the Centre prides itself on its informality of setting: the office looks more like a clubroom; classroom arrangements are casual; and coffee is always available. This flexibility and informality help to counteract the Indian suspicion of being processed through "a white man's education". Teaching techniques also follow this principle. Collins utilizes a number of different approaches: audio-visual aids, guest lecturers, individual, small- orcomplete-group discussions and learning situations. The absence of rigid teaching techniques allows teaching methods to be geared to individual needs.

The program has link-ups with the Manpower Basic Training and Skill Development (BTSD) or upgrading programs, and with Indian Affairs' job placement, on-the-job, and in-service training programs, as well as provincial upgrading and vocational school programs. Such links facilitate the student's transition from the Centre to other institutions, and also help in allowing the student's program to be designed according to the requirements of the institution offering his chosen program. They are almost essential for educational upgrading programs if these programs are to be conducted with pragmatic goals in mind. In addition, the Centre co-operates and collaborates with Indian chiefs, councillors, and bands; Friendship

Centres; Native Fellowship Clubs; rehabilitation institutions; social workers; and many others.

Standardized achievement tests of monthly increases in proficiency in reading, language, and arithmetic reflect the success of the program, as do enrolment and attendance data. An extensive survey of students' careers after leaving the Centre has not yet been made; however, a number of students have graduated from the course and are completing secondary and post-secondary educational programs or have gone on to their chosen careers.

Success is also indicated by the number of students who retain contact with the school. Former students, as well as their relatives and friends, have made the school a place to visit and get information. Indian organizations frequently refer potential students and, in addition, use it as a resource centre for research and general information, as well as for assistance in preparing meetings, presentations, and conventions.

5. Social Counsellor Education Program

The Social Counsellor Education program is a response to the need to "humanize the education system".[15] The need for this is not a uniquely Indian complaint; however Indians, perhaps more than many cultural groups, respond best to a system in which there is a great deal of personalized contact. Although this has been noted by workers in a number of fields other than education,[16] it is a problem which education, as a large-scale bureaucratic system, needs to take into account.

The Social Counsellor Education program aims to fill this need through the training of Indian paraprofessionals able to cope with the range of problems confronting the Indian student. There is a great need for such people. Many Indian students experience academic difficulties as a result of problems which are not directly related to school, such as homesickness, drinking, and cultural conflict. Frequently, they have no one they can turn to who is trained in dealing with such problems. The social counsellor, attached to the school, can fill such a need. It is hoped, however, that the use of social counsellors will not be limited to the school; rather, they are trained to be able to act in a leadership and resource role at any level of community involvement. In this way, they work to personalize the liaison between school, student, and community.

The program is the work of Dan Brady, a specialist in the education and use of paraprofessionals, who directs the program and is involved to some extent in actual teaching duties. The program is offered by the College of Education of the University of Toronto and is financed by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Tuition and operating budget is approximately $2,100 per student. The Department also provides full costs of tuition and living expenses for treaty Indians and their dependents. Only tuition is paid for non-treaty Indians. The program is directed towards treaty Indians, however, and non-treaty Indians are accepted only when the

quota of 25-30 students is not filled. Admissions' criteria further limit the course to students 18 to 36 years old, who hold a grade 12 or 13 diploma.

The program emphasizes a core curriculum in communication skills, interpersonal relations, and the understanding of social structure and minority groups as a means of understanding the relationship of the Indian to the larger society. Courses in guidance technician resources, counselling theory and practice, health and physical education, and arts and crafts supplement this. From this basic core curriculum, the student can develop an area of specialization which may lead to a career as a nursery or child-care manager, teacher or counsellor aide, resource technician, community recreation leader, court worker or civil servant, to name a few. In addition to courses in the classroom, numerous opportunities are offered for practical experience and field work. These include working in Metro Toronto schools as aides in English as a Second Language programs for new Canadians to gain an appreciation of the concerns of other cultural minorities, as well as working in reserve schools and attending outdoor education and environmental studies conferences.

Continuous evaluation, both of the students themselves and of the program, is considered important. Students are asked to attend a weekly seminar with the Director to obtain feedback on their opinions and to clarify goals. Private interviews with the Director, at least once a month, help maintain a personal relationship and foster individual growth and communication.

The program is offered in two sections. Students may take the summer session, equivalent to one semester, for three years. Or they may take the winter session, which lasts one year, from September to June, and offers three semesters of course work. Enrolment for the summer session of 1971 was 16 students, representing 13 reserves and four provinces. For the winter session of 1971-72, 27 students enrolled, representing the same four provinces, but with the addition of two Eskimo boys. Recruiting is carried out by the District Officer of Indian Affairs and by band councils, as well as by the more routine method of distributing literature.

Instruction of the course is divided approximately equally between College of Education staff and outside resource personnel. The latter include Indian educators, court workers, Department of Indian Affairs' personnel, and a school board consultant for programs for new Canadians.

The Social Counsellor Education program was developed in March, 1971, and the first classes were offered in July, 1971. The first winter session began in September, 1971. Since it has only been in operation for a short time, it is impossible to evaluate it in terms of the career success of the students; however, more limited indications of success are available. The summer session had no drop-outs; the winter session has had two withdrawals, but these were for personal, not academic, reasons. Although attendance has been almost 100 per cent, this may be partly a function of the fact that attendance is compulsory, and unexplained absenteeism is considered grounds for expulsion. This policy was the decision of the

students, as well as the Director, and may have important implications for the success of such a program. Mr. Brady considers that a potential cause of drop-outs is that students are allowed to take a lax attitude to the importance of attendance and remaining in the course. The consequences contingent on a failure to attend classes oblige students to be strongly committed to completing the course.

It is likely that the program will not remain in its present form, but will continue to grow and expand the options available to the student both within the course and upon completion of it. The course itself may become a one- or two-year certificate program, or a degree program in counselling education and/or community leadership. It also has potential as a transition course between secondary school and university or an Indian studies program such as that offered by Trent University.

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1 Canada Yearbook, 1970-71, p. 247.

2 Dalhousie University. Transition Year Program, 1970-71, Director's Report, Halifax: 1971, p. 9.

3 ibid., p. 9.

4 ibid., p. 1.

5 Pillay, P. D. personal communication.

6 ibid.

7 Dalhousie. op. cit., p. 1.

8 ibid., pp. 2-7.

9 ibid., pp. 7-8.

10 ibid., p. 10.

11 Journal of American Indian Education, II (1), p. 31, 1971.

12 Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Indian Studies Programs in Canadian Schools: A Preliminary Report, November, 1970, p. 8.

13 The Education of Indian Children in Canada, A Symposium..., Toronto: 1965, p. 88.

[14] ibid., pp. 89-93.

[15] This following program is based on personal communication with Dan Brady unless otherwise noted.

[16] See, for example, Wall's discussion of how Indians experience difficulty in their relationships with social services because of the failure of these agencies to draw them out on their problems. Wall, Vincent. The Canadian Indian Family Project, Toronto: 1965. See also L. de Montigny's description of the mechanics of how Indians insist on establishing a personal relationship with a doctor before entrusting him with their medical problems. L. de Montigny. The Doctor-Indian Patient Relationship, unpublished manuscript.

IV OTHER PROGRAMS

1. Integration: Introduction and Case Study [1]

Many early efforts to educate Indian children were conducted in integrated schools, in an undisguised attempt to assimilate the children to a European way of life. A few Indians profited from this and took up responsible positions, often working for their people; however, the majority suffered. By the mid-nineteenth century, the character of the white communities living near Indian communities was so prejudicial to any positive gains on the part of the Indian that Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, counselled complete segregation "to fortify them as much as possible against all communications with whites". For the next hundred years, the education of Indian children was segregated and protective. The main course of study in both industrial and residential schools was industrial, to prepare Indians for a "life of piety and industry".

In 1950, provincial courses of study were introduced in residential schools, and the federal government began taking over the residential schools, most of which were operated by churches. A small staff of regional school superintendents was appointed, and these men began the negotiations leading to integration. An experimental phase lasted until 1963, as various concepts of integration were tested, and resistance to the plan worn down. This delay was actually beneficial, as it allowed the less promising methods of integration to be weeded out.

At first, the entry of Indian children into provincial schools was financed by a flat tuition fee per student. As increasing numbers of Indian students were enrolled, however, cost-sharing agreements were made between federal and provincial governments. The federal government shared in capital and gross operating costs of the schools, in order to equalize the financial burden of educating Indian students. The actual legislation and mechanisms vary from province to province.

In 1967, the federal government published a massive analysis of political, economic, and educational problems and policies relating to the Indians. This study, commonly called the Hawthorn Report, after its principal author, recommended almost without reservations that Indian students be integrated with the rest of the population. This document has been influential in determining policy for the Indians and, at present, integration is the trend in Indian education.

Three aims underly the attitude towards integration. First, the federal government hopes to decentralize Indian education to increase the efficiency of administration and to allow increased Indian participation in

education once it is at the local and provincial levels. Secondly, it is felt that the provinces can offer the Indians far better educational programs and a wider range of opportunities especially in the areas of higher education, technical and professional training. Thirdly, integration is felt to facilitate the social and economic assimilation of Indians. Nevertheless, teachers report that the younger the child, the quicker he adjusts to an integrated situation. For older children it is far more difficult, for both academic and social reasons. Ideally, therefore, integration should take place at the kindergarten or grade one level. This optimal situation has not yet been reached. In 1965, 25 per cent of Indian pupils were in provincial schools, compared to 85 per cent in grades 11 and 12.[2]

The following are portions of a letter from Mrs. Evelyn Miller, a teacher at the integrated Christopher Lake Elementary School of the Prince Albert (Sask.) Rural School Unit.

> Prince Albert Rural School Unit, in the Christopher Lake Elementary School, is only one of the schools that had integration chucked into its lap, and, in effect, was told 'Now it's your problem.' I can only speak for what was done in the Christopher Lake School, but since we had no coaching or assistance in how to cope with the situation, we used the trial and error method (sometimes it seemed mostly error!). I suspect that our superiors were just as bewildered as we were so we were given free rein.

The Course Itself - A General Description

> It is three years since integration came to our school. The first year was extremely frustrating, especially the first four months - we did not understand the warp of the native children and they did not understand us. It seemed entirely impossible to teach Indians and whites together, for all the reasons that you are undoubtedly aware of. . . .
> Almost none of the native youngsters could do the work in the grade level to which they had been assigned and yet their age kept us from putting them in a room where they might have been able to achieve (you can't put 13 and 16 year old boys in a room with 9 and 10 year old girls). So we worked out a plan whereby I took Remedial (for want of a better name) Reading with small groups

for the other half-day. These seemed to be the areas of prime importance. For quite some time in the beginning, my work with them was not reading at all, but Oral English. During the year I used every approach I had ever used or heard of and I used every aid I could get my hands on - Reading Labs, etc.

By this method these youngsters received 2 1/2 hour periods a day of (almost) individual instruction and they loved it. While this was not very long, it was better than nothing. I must say that, for the first year, the rest of the day when they were with the whole class was almost a total loss, because most of the Social Studies, etc. was quite beyond their experience and comprehension.

The second year, due to the drastic pupil-teacher ratio imposed by our former government, we were unable to have the special classes. However, the past year, due to the efforts of our principal, we were able to continue the program we had started. It was most gratifying, to me, when the Canadian Tests of Basic Skills were given in June of this year, to learn that in one year, many of these youngsters had progressed two grade levels in reading. While most of the credit was given to the Remedial Reading classes I realize, of course, that other factors were involved. They had begun to get into the swing of things and feel like one of us. This was evident in other than academic endeavours - sports, etc.

Re: Integration -- Is It Working?

I think it is, to a point. I think it will improve each year. In the primary grades there is less difficulty, and now that there is less difficulty, and now that there is a kindergarten on the reserve, the little ones can at least speak English when they come to us.

Because sympathetic as we might be to their culture, what we really are doing is moulding them to our way of thinking. On our particular reserve they seem to be quite happy and contented

about their children attending our school. In fact they say so quite frankly. Some of the white parents have been perturbed at times but they really have been quite patient and understanding.

I must admit we seemed to fail to do anything for the oldest ones -- the 15 to 18 year olds. I am sure they really felt swamped and they simply petered out in a very short time. But the younger ones seemed happy and oh! the look in their eyes when occasionally they do better than the white children! Because they are getting a start when they are young I hope they will continue.

Integration has been an up-hill grind, but it had to start sometime and I feel strongly that it is a right move.

Re the financial position of school and community. About 50% of our students are either from the reserve or living on welfare off the reserve (both white and Indian). To many of these people, welfare is a way of life and they are quite satisfied with it. Some of them in fact have more income than their neighbours who work for a living.

The school is financed by the larger unit of administration, the Prince Albert School Unit. Indian Affairs contributed to the addition which was required on our school to accommodate the native children and Indian Affiars buys the books, pencils, etc. for treaty Indians -- the things white parents are required to buy for their children.

2. Indian School Boards and School Committees

There has been much controversy about the value and power of Indian school committees and school boards. School boards and advisory committees are one method of obtaining community involvement in the educational process and, hopefully, some measure of Native say in the education of their children. Nevertheless, the fulfilment of these ideals depends on a number of variables, including the degree to which the board or committee is representative of the community; the efficiency of the board or committee as a liaison between school and community; the amount of feedback generated by the community; the degree of power or control, perceived or actual, which the board or committee and the community exerts over the school; the receptivity of the

school and/or school board to the recommendations of these groups. Actual studies of the effect of Indian school boards and committees are rare. It is important that these be done in order to determine both the value of these bodies and what modifications might improve their functioning.

The following is a description of the structural aspects of boards and committees, followed by a case history.

School committees, consisting of three members, are appointed by the band councils. Committees assume active responsibility in the following areas: school attendance; care of school property; community use of school buildings; special disciplinary problems; management of some school funds; scholarships; acquisition of sports and playground equipment; field days; school fairs and festivals; educational field trips and other extra-curricular activities. The committees act in an advisory capacity on a variety of other school matters.

Members of a school committee must have band membership, be 21 years of age or over, and be literate. In addition, members must be representatives of the parents whose children are eligible to attend school. The three members of the committee are appointed for one, two, and three years respectively in the first instance, and thereafter for a period of three years.

Each June, the committee submits a budget for the year, commencing September first, and administers the resulting fund made up of contributions from the Department of Indian Affairs and band funds for such purposes as janitor duites, sports equipment, and miscellaneous expenditures such as field day, music festivals, film rentals, publication of school papers or year books.

There are over fifty Indian school committees active at the present time. They constitute a basic step towards Indian bands' assuming responsibility for operation of the schools on the reserves.

3. Resource Centres

As is evidenced in the preceding pages, a number of innovative projects and programs are being tested in the field of Indian education; however, these courses, class projects, and programs are in need of a base from which to work - a storehouse of supplies, knowledge, and kits, and a staff of experts at hand to provide solutions or at least suggestions for many questions and problems that are being encountered in practice by these innovative experiments. Among many other functions, the Indian Education Resources Centre in British Columbia does just this.

The Indian Education Resources Centre was established in September, 1970, with the aim of improving educational opportunities for Indian students in British Columbia. Activities of the Centre include:

(a) developing and distributing a collection of books and articles containing up-to-date information for use by students, teachers, Indian school committees, and many others;

(b) sponsoring courses and programs concerned with various facets of Indian culture and history, as well as with Indian education and Indian students, particularly for teachers of Indian students;

(c) developing communication between the many groups involved in Indian education;

(d) vigorously promoting the involvement of Indian people in educational decision-making;

(e) providing facilities for research and program development related to Indian education;

(f) working directly with education committees, teachers, and community groups on such projects as local orientation courses for teachers, development of libraries and study centres in Indian communities;

(g) publication of an Indian Education Newsletter which is distributed to teachers, Indian school committees, Indian bands, students, and others throughout Canada.

The Centre is located in a small building on the campus of the University of British Columbia and is funded by a grant from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The development of the Centre is guided by the Centre Council, made up of fifteen native Indian teachers elected by the B.C. Native Indian Teachers' Association. Until May 1, 1971, the Centre Council Chairman was Mr. Alvin McKay, a Nishga Indian, and the Acting Director was Dr. Art More. On May 1, Mr. McKay was selected as the Director as part of the plan to have as much Indian involvement as possible. Dr. More is Centre Consultant, and the new Centre Council Chairman is Mr. George Wilson, a Kwakiutl Indian and a Prince George teacher. Financial administration is handled through the Centre for Continuing Education by Phil Moir.

The Indian Education Resources Centre has had a definite impact on Indian education. A list of its accomplishments is lengthy and varied.

(1) BCNITA

The Centre was instrumental in the formation of the British Columbia Native Indian Teachers' Association which now controls the Centre.

(2) Resources Development

The Centre publishes an Indian Education Newsletter. It has developed a library of books, newspapers, magazines, articles, slides, and other references. These materials have been made available through a loan system and may be borrowed in person and by mail. The Centre acts as a co-ordinating agency for "people" resources as well and has contacts who are involved in Indian education or who can act as resource people in almost all B.C. communities. In addition, it is responsible for developing and publishing curriculum materials about, for, and by Indians.

(3) Direct Involvement

Centre personnel participate in teacher workshops and conferences throughout B. C., as well as in major conferences of Indian organizations. The Centre is open to visits from teachers, individual students, and classes. It fills information requests by mail and telephone from teachers, education committee members, school boards, students, student teachers, Indian Affairs' personnel, and many others. It renders assistance in developing Indian Studies and Indian Culture courses at both the elementary and secondary levels in schools throughout British Columbia and will undertake an evaluation of the Integration program in Indian education for the schools in any area of the province. It participates actively in the Indian Education Club at the British Columbia penetentiary. A pilot survey was conducted on the Boarding Home Program and, after questionnaire revision is carried out, the study will be conducted on a province-wide basis.

(4) Course and Program Support

The Centre supports further development of a university course offered in Indian Education. The course is being offered in Williams Lake in 1971-72. It developed a training course for Home-School Co-ordinators which was offered in July-August 1971. It provides speakers on Indian Education to various university courses.

(5) Drop-In Centre

The Centre has become a home base for many of the Indian students on campus. This was spontaneous and benefitted both the Centre and the Indian students.

(6) Involvement with Other Indian Education Groups

The Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs and the Centre established a working liaison which involved the Centre in most of the educational concerns of the U. B. C. I. C. The Rivers' Society and the Centre are developing a project to edit and distribute audio and video tapes. The Conference of the Canadian Association for Indian and Eskimo Education will be organized in Vancouver by the Centre in 1972. The Department of Indian Affairs has made increasing use of the Centre's resources, including requests for information and contacts and visits to the Centre.

Several other resource centres exist in Canada. The Indian Information Centre, at Althouse College in London, Ontario has been in operation since 1970. The Indian and Northern Curriculum Resources Centre was established by the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon in 1964.[3]

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1 The following is taken from The Education of Indian Children in Canada, A Symposium..., Toronto: 1965, pp. 61-73.

2 ibid., p. 72.

3 University of British Columbia. Indian Education Resource Centre Report. June 18, 1971.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PROGRAMS, PROJECTS, AND COURSES IN NATIVE STUDIES

(formulated by Roberta Jamieson)

1. The most important recommendation is for Native cultural content in the educational system. In the past, the Indian has been alienated from his education due to his inability to identify with the curriculum. This should be remedied. The child should learn new concepts using the environment around him, then he can be taught to generalize his knowledge to different environments. The child should not be expected to begin with things he is unfamiliar with, and then be labelled "slow" when he fails to understand.

Parents also do not recognize anything relevant to the Indian personally in the educational system. As a result, many students drop out for lack of encouragement from their families.

There is a tremendous need for content which is meaningful to the Indian. The amount of Native content and what it is that is most relevant should be decided by the Indians themselves.

2. There is a need for a complete revision of all textbooks. All errors, omissions, and discrimination must be changed to present both the Native and non-Native points of view. A library workshop, similar to one held in Minnesota, would be beneficial. Librarians, instructors, and resource personnel met to compile a list of well-written books. Such a list could be distributed widely throughout Canada. The University Women's Club of Port Credit has already begun this, in a report which analyzes discrimination in Canadian elementary school texts. [1]

3. It would be of great assistance to all those involved in Indian education if regional resource centres, similar to the one operated in British Columbia, were available to both administrators, instructors, parents, and students. These centres could catalogue the developments in Indian education as well as curricula and other information. The resource centre could form a national network through which information could be exchanged. The problem of lack of documentation of new curricula and experiments would be eliminated. There need be no repetition of unsuccessful experiments, costly both in money and in time. It is important that resource centres not be organized according to provinces; rather, they should be regionally located, according to cultural and linguistic affiliations.

4. Indian-language courses should be instituted from kindergarten through

to post-secondary levels. The culture of the North American Native people is one that is mainly preserved through oral tradition. If this method of preservation is destroyed, much of the culture will be lost.

At present, Trent University is considering offering a course in the Ojibway language. In 1971-72, such a course was offered at the Université de Montréal. Several other institutions, such as the Institute of North American Indian Studies of Montreal, are investigating the feasibility of spoken language courses in Mohawk and Cree. On the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, courses in both the Cayuga and Mohawk languages are offered from grades one to six. At Manitoulin Secondary School, a course in Ojibway is offered. This demonstrates that such courses can be offered successfully at all grade levels. Speed, however, is essential is setting up these courses, as the resource people are generally few and elderly.

5. Social Studies (History) courses should be set up to educate the white about the background of the Indian, and the Indian about his own background. Such a course could be incorporated into the time allotted for local or Canadian history. The need to end ignorance on the part of both Indians and whites should be recognized and resolved now.

6. Often an Indian enters high school in grade nine and must take all his courses at one time. It is easy for the student to fall behind, as he has many problems besides academic ones. Usually, for the first time, he finds himself part of a minority. He is trying to adjust not only to a new home and town, but also to a new environment, a new value system, and a new race. If he falls behind, he is labelled a "slow learner" and pushed into an "opportunity class" or repeats the same grade again and again.

To avoid this situation, and to avoid placing Native students in large, segregated, occupational "opportunity" classes, the semester system should be considered. In the semester system, a student would not be obliged to take several courses which he finds difficult at the same time. As the student's selection of courses would be based on his own desires, the system would allow more personalization. With a careful selection of courses, the student would have more time to spend on problem areas. A student with learning difficulties could take some regular classes and attend special classes in the difficult subjects. With the semester system, repeating a grade is usually unnecessary. Thus students need not continually experience failure and the depression that comes from being placed in a "remedial" grade.[2]

There are other benefits. The student who drops out and then wants to return need not wait an entire year before returning. Careful planning of the semester system would allow the introduction of courses in Native culture and language. The semester system would be of great help to unmarried mothers. A summer school or winter course could be given on the reserve for former students interested in teaching, welfare or probation work.

7. Native children should not be bussed off the reserve until the secondary level. A child of ten or eleven is neither physically, mentally, nor socially equipped to ride twenty miles to school and back and attend classes at the same time. Further, course selection for a child should not be determined by the bus-routes on the reserve. A bus schedule should also be negotiated to allow students to remain after school. Indian students have been criticized for a lack of participation or sociability in extra-curricular activities. But is this valid for a student who is faced with a twenty-mile walk if he stays after school?

8. It is imperative that, where possible, administrative, teaching, and resource positions in Native education should be held by people of Native ancestry. It is further suggested that Native personnel should have a Native background similar to that of students. Native personnel would already be oriented towards the type of learning situation best suited to the Native students and would be far better equipped to cope with any problems that might occur. Employing Native personnel would automatically solve the culture gap that exists between the Native student and the non-Indian teacher.

If it is impossible to employ Natives in these positions, personnel who have both training and experience in working with Native people should be employed. In such a situation, Native people should be employed as teacher aides. If there are not enough educated Natives to act as teacher aides, then they should be brought in as visiting lecturers or resource personnel. There is no valid excuse for the exclusion of Natives from the education of their children.

9. There is a desperate need for more qualified Indians in Indian education. Perhaps, if less emphasis were placed on vocational training, more Indians would be encouraged to remain in academic programs and go on to become teachers.

10. All possible assistance must be given to those Natives eligible for courses at the post-secondary level. Students should be informed of any assistance available to them through the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. They should receive guidance both on how to obtain this aid and on planning their future education.

11. There is a desperate need for more guidance personnel trained in dealing with Indian problems, and especially for personnel from a Native or Native-oriented background. Counsellors should be able to deal with both personal and academic problems and should be available 24 hours a day.

12. Special guidance services should be available to students undergoing a transitional stage of any kind, whether it is the change from walking to a segregated school to riding a bus to an integrated school or the transition from a reserve to a city. These periods can be most trying and are the

reason for a number of Indian drop-outs. Professional help must be readily available at these times.

13. More involvement in, and control of, Indian education on the part of the parent is a must. The Native parent has been ignored long enough. The Indian parent must be involved to the extent of being placed in a decision-making position. In this way, the parent may develop a clearer understanding of the "white" world in which his child is educated and be able to further the aims of educators.

It has been said that the Native parent is indifferent towards the child and his education. It is possible, however, that the alienation of the parent by the school may have, in part, created and maintained this indifference. More involvement on both sides might end this situation.

14. One of the most important advances that could be made in Indain education would be increased communication and clarification of the lines of communication between the school and community. It is important to develop trust, understanding, and a good working relationship between the parents and the school. Doing this brings the school one step closer to a similar relationship with the students.

15. One method of improving communication is through the Indian school board. School boards in areas serving an Indian population must have at least Indian representation. Better still is the establishment of totally Indian school boards with full discretionary powers. Natives must have a chance to influence their own education.

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SUMMARY COMMENTS

The major problem of Indian educators has been the failure to recognize Indians as a unique culture, distinct from the mainstreams of French and English culture in Canada. Educators have not met the needs of Indian children. They have tried to fit them into an alien type of educational program. When Indian children fail to meet these alien standards, they are branded as being ineducable. This attitude towards Indians is not unique; it is common to much of the power structure in Canada. With this false attitude being held, it is not surprising that Indian children never "make it".

There have been developments in Indian education in the past five years, but they are only "a drop in the bucket" compared to what could be done. Programs must be implemented, bearing in mind the recommendations presented in this report. Changes must be made now. But they should be made at the instigation of Natives and under Native supervision. They cannot do more poorly than the whites have in the past. If anything, they should do better.

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